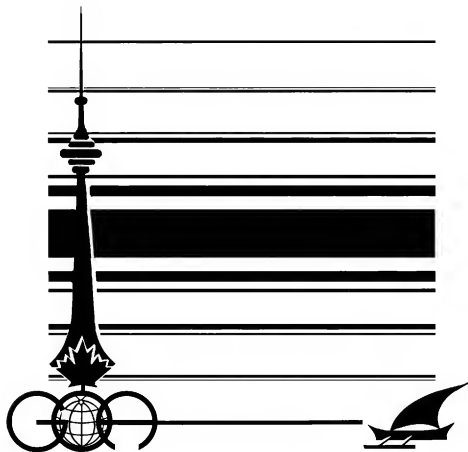

PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION

AUGUST 7 – 21, 1988 • TORONTO



PROCEEDINGS INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION

AUGUST 7 - 21, 1988

Toronto

**Organized by
The Goan Overseas Association
Toronto, Canada**

Convention proceedings were compiled by:

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Published by:
Goan Overseas Association
Incorporated in the Province of Ontario
P.O. Box 5667, Station A
Toronto, Ontario
Canada, M5W 1N8

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ISBN 0-9695037-0-9

Printed by Lithographic Services & Son
1134 Queen Street West,
Toronto, Ontario
M6J 1J3

FOREWORD

Zulema de Souza had a dream. She saw it come to fruition. Mobilizing and motivating an army of volunteers was no mean achievement. The International Goan Convention has come and gone. It was history in the making and is history now. It may be the catalyst for even greater things to come, in the future.

We have carved a new identity for ourselves in the lands of our adoption but, as time goes by, matters Goan may regress to the point of dissipation. Memory is not an entirely reliable faculty. Video may have captured the theme and the movement for posterity, and for those of us who participated in the various facets of the Convention, some facets will certainly be etched in our memories on the published record.

In the academic component of the Convention, we were treated to a pot-pourri of scholarly gristle in workshops and seminars by Goan literati from various parts of the globe. Also, distinguished local speakers did justice to peripheral topics conducive to our well-being. Because of simultaneous presentations, it was physically impossible to be in two places at the same time. Fortunately for us, the transcripts are ours to share and are presented herein. Some had to be condensed, and others are a gist of the original text. We hope the reader will enjoy them and that their authors will forgive us for any unintended transgressions.

Each speaker's theme will endure *ad infinitum*, and may well constitute a microcosm of what we are today.

We acknowledge the invaluable help that Zulema de Souza gave us in assimilating and reviewing all this material and providing us with meeting facilities at her residence.

Al Mathias
Myra Tavares
Armand Rodrigues

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PART I
GETTING IT TOGETHER

GOALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION

1. To bring together Goans to strengthen the sense of community among them;
2. To develop the capacity of Goans to meet the social, economic, cultural and political challenges that lie ahead;
3. To foster better understanding between Goan people and the community at large;
4. To share with others our Goan sense of values, our industriousness in the workplace and our pride in home and family.

PROGRAMME
INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION
1988

Sun.	August 7 2:00 p.m. 4:00 p.m. 6:00 p.m.	Mass at St. Michael's Cathedral Opening Ceremonies Visitor/Host Reception
Mon.	August 8 9:00 a.m.	Coach Tour to Niagara Falls and Hamilton
Tue.	August 9 6:30 p.m.	Conference Dinner - The Old Mill
Wed.	August 10 10:00 a.m. 7:00 p.m.	Conference International Networking Issues Socio-Economic Issues
Thur.	August 11 10:00 a.m. 7:00 p.m.	Conference National Networking Cultural Issues
Fri.	August 12 8:00 p.m.	International Nite "East Meets West" Roy Thomson Hall
Sat.	August 13 6:30 p.m.	Convention Ball - Queensway Lions Club
Sun.	August 14 1:00 p.m.	Conference Debate Young Goans have lost their Ethnic Identity
Mon.	August 15 7:00 p.m.	Konkani Film "GIRESTCAI"
Tue.	August 16 9:30 a.m.	City of Toronto Sightseeing Tour
Wed.	August 17 3:00 p.m. 7:30 p.m.	Picnic Boat Cruise Party
Thu.	August 18 7:30 p.m.	Boat Cruise Party
Fri.	August 19 6:30 p.m.	Fine Art Exhibition "Visions from Afar"
Sat.	August 20 Noon	Goan Festival - Harbourfront
Sun.	August 21 Noon 8:30 p.m.	Goan Festival - Harbourfront Closing Ceremonies

ORGANIZATIONAL PERSONNEL

Steering Committee

Ivan Araujo	David de Souza	Zulema de Souza
Cliff Menezes	Osmond Remedios	Peter Gonsalves

Activity/Event

Conference
 Mass – St. Michael's
 Choir
 Roy Thomson Hall Show
 Harbourfront (Overall)
 Historical Research
 Arts and Crafts
 Fashion Pageant
 Cultural Performance

 Stalls & Decorations
 Food
 Advertising
 Art Exhibition
 Boat Cruise Party
 Budget
 Communications/Planning
 Convention Grand Ball
 External Correspondence
 Finance
 Grants Prov./Federal
 Health/Immigration
 Historical Overview
 Hospitality/Accommodation
 International Networking

Memorabilia
 National Networking
 Opening Ceremonies
 Video
 Photographs

Press Conference
 Printing
 Security
 Secretary
 Sponsorship
 Tours
 Treasurer
 VIPs

Coordinators

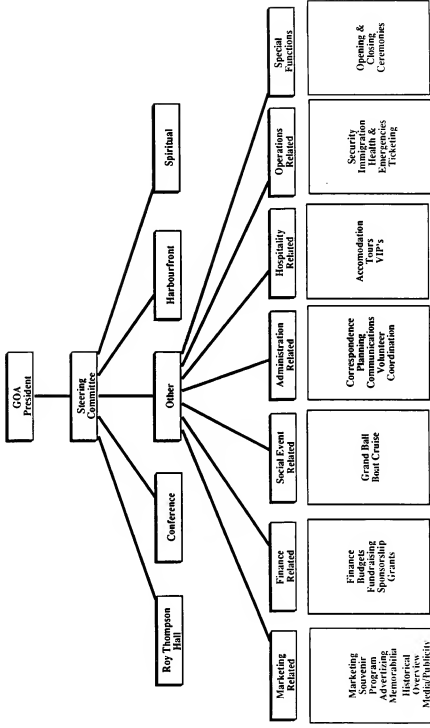
Diana Misquitta
 Fr. Terence D'Souza
 Dr. Lorna D'Silva
 Osmond Remedios
 Elma D'Souza
 Debra Moniz
 Diana De Souza/Stella Lawrence
 Marilyn D'Silva
 Liz D'Souza, Cecilia Vaz,
 Mericia Cardozo
 Phil Coelho
 Elma D'Souza
 Iris D'Silva
 Suresh Pereira
 Yvonne Furtado
 Prip D'Souza
 Cliff Menezes
 Keith D'Souza
 Zulema de Souza
 Al Mathias
 Ivan Araujo, Zulema de Souza
 Dr. Colin Saldanha
 Ben Antao
 Joan Menezes
 Al Mathias
 Vernon Lobo, Sharon de Souza
 Jennifer Noronha
 Ivan Araujo
 Soco Aguiar
 Anthony Mendes
 Tony Fernandes, Clement Sequeira
 Albert Fernandes
 Jennifer Fernandes-Ferrao
 Clement Sequeira
 Ian Mendes
 Myra Tavares
 Cellie Gonsalves
 Armand Rodrigues
 Sandra Pereira
 Desmond D'Silva, Len Cardozo,
 Ludovic D'Souza

They also served . . .

A special tribute goes out to the army of over 600 volunteers who made it possible and without whom little could have been accomplished. These dedicated individuals translated all plans into reality and did so with boundless enthusiasm and energy.

INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION - 1988

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE



G.O.A. Executive Committee 1987-1989

President	Zulema de Souza
Vice-President – Administration	Al Mathias
General Secretary	Soco Aguiar
Vice-President -Sports	Cedric D'Souza
Treasurer	Victor Cordeiro
Assistant Treasurer	Mericia Cardozo
Assistant General Secretary	Eugene Correia
Welfare & Cultural Secretary	Diana De Souza
Youth Secretary	Lola Vaz
Young Adults Secretary	Yvonne Furtado
Sports Secretary	Ireneus Rato
Social Secretary	Keith D'Souza
Members	Jennifer Noronha
	Lynette De Souza
	Hilary Martins
	Ralph De Souza
	Liz D'Souza
	Casi Noronha
Administrative Assistant	

The Official Logo for the Convention was designed by Osmond Remedios and the rationale for the design is as follows:

The Tower signifies the C.N. tower which has become a landmark of the City of Toronto, which is the host city.

The red Maple Leaf stands for Canada, the host country.

The yellow in 'O' signifies the world incorporating the 'International' aspect.

The letters 'G.O.A.' represents the hosts - The Goan Overseas Association, Toronto.



This Logo was designed by Savio De Souza. Savio is one of our young graphic artists, who is building a reputation for himself.

SONGS OF THE CONVENTION

KONKANI THEME SONG

Lyrics & Music Composed by : Blasco Ben Barreto

Goenkar pordessant rautaum
Voddponnan fankartat amchem naum
Canadachea gavan urben ektouleaum
Amchea goenkarponanc vodd
Man ditaum

Chorus:

Canada, goemkaracho zomom Canadac
Ekvottacher kam korunc Canadac
Fuddem sorlea G.O.A. Canadac

Boro, fuddar aundetaum
Jivitar naill corteleaum
Burggim amchim, soddannch
Ugddass dortelim
Ho ekvott gott corunk vavurtelim.

THEME SONG: 'THE SPIRIT OF GOA'

Lyrics & Music Composed By: Nobby Menezes

Sometimes when I close my eyes
I see your orange skies
I taste your mango trees
And smell your ocean breeze
When I hear your waves roar
My heart begins to soar
I long for you now
The spirit of Goa

Refrain:

Laugh and play
Sing everyday
Laugh and play in spirit of Goa
Laugh and play, sing everyday
One day we'll play in spirit of Goa
Laugh and play, sing everyday
Dance and play in spirit of Goa.

THEME SONG: "WE'VE COME TOGETHER"

Lyrics & Music Composed By: Ivan Araujo

We've come together to find each other
We've come to grow, we've come to learn, we've come to smile
We know we really care
That's why we're here to share
To cry together, to laugh together, for just a while.

The shifting sands of time, have sent us separate ways.
And forced us all, to each seek out, our destiny
Though land and seas divide
Right now we're side by side
For this is how, it just must be, with family.

Chorus:

The world is changing fast – we must keep pace
We can no longer cling to yesterday
And those that follow us – they must know now
To place their hand in ours – and we'll guide them on their way.

There is so little time, to do so very much
Let's make the most, the very best of every day
And when we have to part
We'll know deep in our heart
We came together, we found each other, for just a while.

THEME SONG

Lyrics & Music Composed By: Barbara Cardozo

This land is our land, now and forever more
We love you Canada, we are free, free, free
Beneath God's blue skies, so let us dream of
Greatness yet to come, from our prayers and devotion.

Refrain

For the gifts we have received, from founding nations
Inuit, Indian, we salute you one and all
We welcome every colour with, love and compassion
We open our hearts, and land to all God's loved ones.

Refrain

The gifts we have received, we'll embellish and pass on
To our children's children, so they are free, free, free
Beneath God's blue skies, and in the glory of their days
May they say of us, that we were wise and good

Refrain

Glory to Canada, compassionate and fair
God guide the tiller, so our ship can sail free, free
Beneath your blue skies, through all the storms of life
Help us to be humble, proud and always thankful.

Refrain

The glory of Yesterday
Opportunity of Today
Aspirations of Tomorrow
We will grow

TEXT OF THE HOMILY

delivered by

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CORDEIRO
Archbishop of Karachi, Pakistan

AT THE OPENING MASS FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL GOAN CONVENTION

Sunday August 7, 1988
St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto.

My dear Brothers and Sisters in Jesus Christ:

It is not difficult to sense the great enthusiasm that fills you at this moment. It is a moment of fullness that I thank you for inviting me from far-away Karachi to do this. It is a moment fraught with blessings from Goa, perhaps on an unprecedented scale. It is up to you to open yourselves to this outpouring, "like a deer that thirsts for running streams" [Psalm 42].

In addressing you as the Goan people, I am reminded of God's people in the Old Testament, and the different experiences, changes, disasters, lessons, etc. they had to undergo over the centuries.

In the First Reading, taken from the Book of Deuteronomy, the Chosen People are reminded of their roots, their origins. Moses recounts how God's might delivered them from the slavery of Egypt, and brought them to the Promised Land. He reminds us that their blessings and prosperity in the new land depend on their faithfulness to that Law.

In the Second Reading, the Apostle Paul, in his letter to the Romans, thanks God that their faith is spoken of all over the world. He then exhorts them to persevere in that faith, because "by their believing from the heart, you are made righteous; by confessing with your lips, you are saved."

Finally, in the Third Reading, Mathew's Gospel places in the forefront of your attention your greatest treasure – the new Law of the Gospel. "You are the light of the world, the salt of the earth.. seek first the Kingdom of God." To this, therefore, must be given top priority if the other things are to be "added unto you".

These are the three themes, therefore, that I offer for your reflection this afternoon: [1] your roots in Goa; [2] faith came to you in Goa; [3] your migration to this land of promise and the demands that God is making on you.

[1] *Your roots in Goa*

In the life of a tree, the roots are always there; they never become irrelevant. They may go out of sight, but never out of date. It is significant that the younger generations of Goans in Canada, far from being enchanted with the glamour of this fairyland, were the first to seek the shores of Goa to discover first hand, "Who am I?" Many are the requests I have personally had for details to help Goan families in Canada to build up their family tree with roots in Goa. You hail from the picturesque hills and streams of the Western Ghats. It is important for you, therefore, to have a positive attitude toward your Eastern origins which go back many centuries before the advent of the Portuguese and the British. In the past there may well be hidden riches that you have still to discover, especially in the field of spirituality. It is not strange, therefore, to notice that many Western writers and scholars are beginning to wax enthusiastic about what the East has to offer in the way of peace and balance for the modern man and woman.

Let us beware of covering up our past as if it were something insignificant, or of bending over backwards to prove that you are more Canadian than the Canadians themselves. You fit far more harmoniously into what Mr. Trudeau calls 'the Canadian Salad Bowl' by being what you are, than by trying to be what you are not.

[2] *Goa and Faith*

Before the migration of Goans to various parts of the British Empire began, the Goan people had a three-century encounter with their Portuguese rulers and all they had to offer. It is this Goa-bound experience of the Goan people that is of special interest to us today. During this phase, two great changes took place: [a] there was a cross-fertilization between East and West in the field of government, language and culture; [b] more importantly, our forefathers experienced a three-century immersion in Catholic faith and practice.

Both these phenomenon are still having far-flung repercussions in different countries.

[a] The cross-fertilization accounts for the marked preference of Goans for things Western and the large-scale migration of Goans to centres of Western culture and life-style, such as the U.K., Canada and Australia. It is only thus that you will be able to explain the Goan genius for Western literature, or Western music, as evidenced by world-famous Goan violinists or pianists, or the perfect theatrical productions of Gilbert and Sullivan.

[b] Since not all Goans have migrated from their eastern bases the second phenomenon, i.e. the thorough immersion in the Faith explains how in many parts of the Third World, Goan laity and clergy have stood their ground to become the backbone of the local Church and evangelisation. St. Francis Xavier may or may not have been a linguist of the charismatic type, but his positive spiritual discernment into the faith of the Goans was remarkable.

[3] *The Faith-Demands on You*

Dear Goans who are settled in Canada, that same 300-year immersion in the Faith makes certain claims on you in this land of your adoption. You need to face these claims calmly, realistically, and with courage. Perhaps when you decided to migrate, many of you had the idea that you were playing safe, that somehow, being Christian in the so-called Christian country would be easier for you and your children, less fraught with

difficulties and dangers than in a country you left behind. There is no need for me to put you wise on this score; you have learned it from your own mature experience that this is no longer true. Did we not learn in our catechism days:

Go where thou wilt, by land or sea
your heavenly Father is there with thee".

Go where thou wilt, O Christian you will always be in a position of Peter and the Apostles at Pentecost. You will always be called upon to leave the safety and closed doors of the Upper Room, to step out into the open and proclaim, at whatever cost, that the Risen Jesus is Saviour and Lord. In this spirit I invite you to accept the challenge of your environment.

[a] The challenge of unity versus division: The outpouring of the Spirit gathers more and more people into unity. Pentecost is the exact opposite of the Tower of Babel, which results in splits and divisions. That your Goan community in its overall unity should be structured into smaller units is good and positive, because it is the means of reaching people at all levels. But splinter and rival groups that keep jockeying for prominence or precedence, instead of service are not the work of the Spirit. "By their fruits you shall know them." Do I need to call to your memory the motto that was hung on the top of the stage at the K.G.A. Hall in Karachi? It reads: "Brotherhood and Unity"

[b] The challenge of material success: Brothers and Sisters, you are living in the land where material success is placed on a pedestal, it is regarded almost as an idol; where the success stories of Henry Ford, Dale Carnegie and Lee Iacocca pour through the mass media, preaching the "gospel" of bigness, of giantism, the big mergers. Let's face it: material success can be an asset if you view it with the right kind of binoculars, whose optical system includes the immediate vision of faith. "The fashion of this world is passing away. Here we have no lasting city, but we look for another". If your material success is so geared as to increase the scale of your compassion for the unfortunate and the scale of your forgiveness for those who have done you harm, if at each step on the road to success you have sought first and foremost the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, then your success becomes not a foolish short-term accumulation of the man who gathered into the barns, but a long-term investment wherein you have set your heart on the treasures that last forever.

[c] Challenge of Family Witness: Last, but not least, you are called to witness the Christian values of family life. "The two become one flesh; what God has joined together, let no man put asunder." Bring up your children in the image and likeness of God. You are challenged to do this in an environment of permissive sexuality where the Christian family is under attack on every possible front: divorce, abortion, artificial insemination, casual habitation, homosexuality – a state of affairs that takes us back to the age of the infant Church and the early Roman Empire, when the height of prosperity and progress went hand-in-hand with the flouting of family morals and sexual irresponsibility. Then, as now, people looked forward to a turn of the tide at the turn of the century.

In this great turn-about you will do your humble but important share of taking a determined stand in the very intimacy of your hearts and homes; the stand of a Christian who, by definition, does not swallow the feedback of the mass media bait, hook and sinker. No indeed! the Christian is one who sits in judgment on the media and shares his judgement with his children; whose children at an early age begin to realize that they are somehow different from their companions, as heaven is different from dough, as salt is different from the earth, as light is different from the dark surroundings.

Then my dear Goans of Canada, you will have justified the warm welcome that Canada has extended to you. Then you will have fulfilled the original purpose of your migration: "We came here for the sake of our families."

PART II

ACADEMIC DELIBERATIONS

PRE-PORTUGUESE CULTURE OF GOA

BY PROF. GEORGE MORAES

Goa was aryanized when Chandragupta Maurya incorporated the West Coast of India in his province of Aparanta, and the impact of Magadhan Prakrit, the official language of the strongest empire India has ever known, on the local Dravidian spoken in this part of the coast, resulted in the formation of Konkani, as was the case with other Aryan vernaculars. For, influenced by the Magadhan Prakrit, the Dravidian languages could not only hold their own but flourished beyond the Magadhan frontier.

After the Maurya Empire had passed its meridian in the second century B.C. its satrap in Aparanta made himself independent. A scion of the imperial Mauryas, the dynasty he founded ruled over the West Coast for well nigh four centuries from its capital Sopara, the Bombay of those days, now a suburban station.

The history of the dynasty is almost a blank. The records so far found disclose the names of only three of its kings, namely Suketavarman¹ who ruled some time in the fourth or fifth century, Chandravarman² in the sixth century and Anarjitavarman³ in the seventh, but furnish no clue as to their mutual relationship. The dates are approximate. They are fixed by comparing the style of the Nagari script in which these records are written with the stages in the evolution of this script, which may be dated fairly correctly. It is possible to infer from the places mentioned in these records and their find-spots that at its zenith the Western Maurya Kingdom comprised the Lata or South Gujarat, coastal Maharashtra, Goa, and half of the North Kanara district.

The Bhojas were a thorn in the side of the Western Mauryas for centuries. They are mentioned, to begin with, in the edicts of Ashoka among the peoples serving the Maurya Empire in its frontier districts. And it fell to their lot to garrison its South-Western tip, consisting of part of the West Coast. On the decline of the Empire, the Bhoja Chief of the times made himself independent in his domain, following the example of the governor of Aparanta, and assumed the royal style of Maharaja as the latter had done. The records disclose the name of five of his successors – Devaraja⁴ who ruled some time in the fourth century, Simharaja⁵ in the fifth, Prithvimallavarman⁶ and Asankitavarman⁷ in the sixth and Kapalivarman⁸ in the seventh. From Chandrapurta, the present Chandor, their capital, the Bhojas extended their kingdom which at its widest extent included Goa and the districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba to the north and half of the Kanara district to the south, besides, a part each of the Dharvar and Belgaum districts in the east across the ghats.

The Mauryas could not remain supine to the loss of their territory. After a long warfare, they succeeded in overpowering the Bhojas and bringing the entire West Coast under their rule. The Bhojas cease to appear in the annals of the West Coast so much so that when the Chalukyas of Badami resolved to annex it to their kingdom, they had to reckon with a sole power – the Mauryas. To them, in the picturesque words of a Chalukya record. Kirttivarman was a 'night of doom', but it was Pulikesi II that gave them the *coup de grace*.

After the Chalukya interregnum, the Rashtrakutas who had thrown off the Chalukya yoke in the Konkan left it in the safekeeping of their loyal feudatories, the Northern and Southern Silaharas, while they themselves betook to the Deccan to stake their claim to imperial power. In his thought-provoking book on Goan Emigration (Goyancaranchi Goyambhaili Vasnuk) in Konkani, the notable Goan historian, the late Mr. Varde Valavlikar, holds that the Rashtrakutas who were proud of tracing their origin to Lattalapur, styling themselves 'Lattalapuravaradhishwaram' or boon Lords of Lattalapur, were Goans (cheddes)⁹, identifying Lattalapur with Loutolim in Salcete. The identification seems more reasonable than with Latur in Andhra Pradesh, as suggested by earlier historians. For one thing, the advance of the Rashtrakutas was from west to east and not vice versa as it would have been, if the latter identification were correct. For another, a Rashtrakuta is mentioned as an important individual in a record of the Maurya King Anirjitavarman (seventh century)¹⁰, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the family gathered enough power in the course of years to be able to replace the Chalukyas.

The Silaharas ruled over South Konkan for about three centuries when they had to yield place to a new power that had risen in the hinterland, the Kadambas, and was casting covetous eyes on the famous maritime city of Chandrapura through which the regions behind the ghats carried on their overseas trade. The Kadambas ruled Goa for two and half centuries until its conquest by Mahmud Gavan on behalf of his Bahmani master. The Hindu rule was restored in Goa by Vijayanagar. The Sultan of Bijapur reconquered it only to lose it to Albuquerque in 1510.

The people could live a peaceful life in their village communities unaffected by these vicissitudes. In a typical village community, the cultivatable land was divided into three classes: the highland, the land at a lower level where the settlers have their dwellings, clustered together in their respective wards for mutual protection, and the land at the lowest level which is the most fertile part of the village. This low land is carefully built up and enforced by embankments which prevents water from the village gushing into the cultivatable part of the village, the so called Khazan area. From embankment to embankment the entire village is cultivated, the water from the stream nearby being regulated by small dykes and when necessary by larger ones at its mouth.

Self-sufficing and self-supporting and each with its own statute for the cultivation of the land in common, these tiny republics were left alone by the powers that be, who were content to receive from them a small portion of their produce and in exceptional circumstances a tax to overcome a grave crisis.

Composing the *vangores* or families of the original founders of the villages were the Gauncars and others admitted by the latter to share their status.

The income from the properties of the village was ear-marked for the upkeep of worship and the payment for the essential services such as those of the barber, the blacksmith, the basket-maker and sorcerer. The clerk – who often was a gauncar himself – was held in high esteem and enjoyed the privilege of cultivating a choice field in the village while the priest and other servants received adequate payment.¹¹

Buddhism was popular and held the field in the Konkan for twelve centuries. It had been brought to Sonaparanta, as Goa was then called, by a son of the soil, a direct disciple of the Buddha, Purna, in the fifth century B.C. The impression left on the psyche of the people by the enrapturing personality of the Buddha even when Buddhism, enfeebled by splitting into sects, was losing its hold, is well brought out by an inscription of the Bhoja King Asankitavarman (sixth century A.D.). It describes the Buddha as one "whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons", and "a reservoir of countless virtues". And significant in this connection is the epithet "affectionate without a motive", applied to him.¹² An added impetus was the profession of Buddhism by both the ruling houses, the Mauryas and the Bhojas, the people even in religious matters following in the footsteps of the rulers. Buddhism so profoundly affected their workday life that Bodhidharma, founder of the Zen School of

Buddhism in China during the early part of the sixth century, hailed according to one account from this milieu, actually from a royal family ruling over the West Coast of South India. It has been suggested that he might have been a prince of the early Kadamba family. The suggestion, however, is untenable for the reason that the early Kadambras are not known to have come under the influence of Buddhism. And since the account puts emphasis on the South, he was connected rather with the family of the Bhojas than that of the Mauryas – that he was a Goan in other words.

With the emergence of Vajrayana, Buddhism lost its pristine purity. Its esoteric practices were regarded as immoral, and it went down in the eyes of the elite. Far worse, with the inclusion of the Hindu gods in its pantheon it began to lose its identity. And before long a situation was reached in which the gods were the same and only the priests were different. The supersessions of the Buddha by Maitreya, Amitaba, Avalokiteshvara – a misfortune. They lacked the character and personality of Sakyamuni.

With Sankara and Ramanuja, many saints and their disciples, Saivism and Vaishnavism, acquired an active priesthood. And while the forceful energies of Buddhism were declining, the Brahman-Hinduist religion enjoyed a sort of revival. Hinduism and Jainism came to be in the ascendant, obtaining greater patronage from the royalty and the people. It should be noted however, that Brahmins of the times were not of the same extraction as the present Brahmins of Goa, the Sarasvats, their gotras being different. The appearance of the Sarasvats in the Konkan for the first time is in the records of the Shilaharas (800 – 1200) – holding eminent positions of ministers and the like. They suffer an eclipse during the Kadamba rule and subsequent period, but are seen as occupying a premier place in society during Portuguese rule with the epithet 'honrado' applied to them in the Jesuit letters. The advent of the Chaddos seems to have been coterminous with that of the Sarasvats, seeing that the village communities are for the most part shared by these two classes. 'Shenvi', the honorific of the Sarasvats, analysis of which had long remained a mystery, is now revealed by the discovery of two of their records. It corresponds to the epithets Dvivedi, Trivedi and Chaturvedi usually borne by Brahmins, and means 'versed in the six vidyas'.¹³

There is some truth in the statement that all that is good and great in the East has gone into the building of temples. To this task of temple building the Shilahara and the Kadamba contribution was considerable. According to a missionary estimate of the seventeenth century, there were three hundred temples in Bardez alone, each village boasting five shrines dedicated to deities collectively known as Pamchadevata.¹⁴ These shrines have all fallen prey to the ravages of time and vandal, but two temples managing to escape, each reveals a style developed under the respective aegis of the two dynasties that brought Goa under their rule during the pre- Portuguese period – the Shilaharas and the Kadambras.

It was reported recently that the Archeological Section of the Historical Archives of Goa had found the ruins of a temple at Kudnem village, and I was thrilled to read the further detail, laconic though it was, that there is the curvilinear tower, rising above the edifice. The Shikhara crowning the Garbhagriha, the sanctum, is a distinguishing feature of the Shilahara temples, as exemplified by the beau ideal of the Shilahara temple architecture, the Saiva temple, built by King Mammuni in 1060 A.D. at Ambarnath, now a suburb of Bombay on the Central Railway beyond Kalyan. As behoving the Bombay region, the historic meeting place of nations, the temple is a harmonious blending of what distinguishes the Northern from the Southern styles, the curvilinear tower, the Shikhara of the Northern temple and the Mukhamandapa, the elongated porch surmounted by the vimana, a tube-like horizontal roof of the Southern ones, in whose shade, the Sukhanasi, the weary worshipper could stretch his legs after his orations.

The sanctum, a sunken square chamber, is reached by a flight of steps. In the middle of this chamber is a Linga, which is the cult object. Dr. H.D. Sankalia and Mr. A.V. Naik, who have written a learned article on this temple, find something unique in the image of Mahishasuramardini. She is generally represented in the Tribhanga pose (pose

on three bends in the dance and in art). But here at Ambarnath "her Tribhanga form is dancing, vibrant with spirited action, and graceful with beautiful curves of the neck, back, arms and legs".¹⁵

I was so taken up by this splendid monument, a proud testimonial to the high watermark to which our art had attained during this period, that I thought it was worthy of a monograph, like those on the European Cathedrals, expatiating on its glories. I could not attempt the task myself. It was beyond me to solve the problems it set, specially the dance depicted in the frieze running round its walls, for the identification of which a knowledge of the folklore, which may still be surviving in the locality, is essential. It was also outside my province to form an estimate of the engineering skill of the builders. The prospective monograph, therefore, could only be cooperative work, since these problems still remain to be solved, *pace* Dr. Sankalia's learned article, which appeared about this time (1939-40), the period of my interest in the temple.

The temple at Surla is typical of the Kadamba style in every detail. I have devoted a whole chapter in my *Kadambakula* to the evolution of the Kadamba style of temple architecture, contrasting it with the Pallava and the Chaluka architectures on the one hand and the Hoysala architecture on the other. The distinguishing feature of the Kadamba style is the tapering terraced tower, a perfect pyramid, the vigorous and purposeful lines of each of these terraces attracting the eye even from a long distance. The Kadamba style would seem to have reached its perfection in the Sri Kamala Narayana Temple at Degamve (Northern Karnataka). It is a typical example of a temple built in this style which had come under the Hoysala influence. It was constructed by Tippooja, the architect of God Bankesvara at the command of Kamala Devi, the queen of the Goa Kadamba King Sivachitta, in the middle of the 12th century.

The temple is rectangular in shape and consists of three cells with the pillared hall running from North to South in front of the shrines on the west side. Each of these shrines is divided into two parts, the Garbhagriha and the Sukhanasi. The frames of the doorways of the Sukhanasi are carved with creepers. The pierced stone windows which surround the doorways are more ornamental than in any other Kadamba temple. The Garbhagrihas have, as in other Kadamba temples, the dedicatory block with the image of Gaja-Lakshmi.

The first cell contains the image of Narayana. The second cell has the icon of Lakshmi-Narayana with Lakshmi seated on the lap of Vishnu. Garuda and Maruti are standing on either side of this image. The third cell bears the image of Kamala with two attendants on either side.

The walls of the temple are adorned with niches having plasters surmounted by terraced pyramidal towers in the Kadamba style crowned with a Kalasha. On the parapets surrounding the Mukhamandapa, the following friezes are sculptured from top to bottom: 1) pillars with roaring lions between them 2) pyramidal towers surmounting these pillars and having dancing girls in various poses between them and 3) beautiful scroll work on top.

The ceiling has pendant lotuses – all of them artistic pieces of workmanship remarkable for richness of ornamentation and elaboration of details.¹⁶

The Surla temple is a poor specimen of the Kadamba style. It is however significant that it betrays Yadava influence, as pointed out by a devoted circle of students and scholars in a recent issue of *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* (Vol. IV, No. 1). The Yadavas were Marathas and their influence on the traditional temple-building is an instance in point of the rapid Marathisation of territory during their rule.

We are so far familiar with the curvilinear and pyramidal towers of our temples. The arch with the key stone, which had revolutionized architecture in the West, was introduced into India by the Muslims; and with the conquest of Goa by the Bahmanis and the Adilshahis, our architects learnt their use. The mosques that were built in Goa must have been modelled on their prototypes in Bijapur with all their distinctive features: the dome deposited on the lotus with pointed arches high above the prayer chambers,

supporting it.

The ruling powers, the Shilaharas and the Kadambas, not to speak of the Mauryas and the Bhojas, adhered to an ideal summed up in the phrase *dashta – nigrāha – sishta – paripalanam* i.e. to restrain the evil and protect the good. People dwelt in harmony, without bickerings arising from religious differences, as the kings followed the policy of universal protection and took care not to pamper the denomination to which they themselves belonged or champion the cause of any new-fangled doctrine. There were persons professing Islam and Christianity in one or other of the Kadamba Kingdoms whose way of life must have been totally different from that of the Hindus. These were not only left free to worship in their mosques and *tarasas*, meaning churches, but they even rose high in government service. Ibn Batuta who passed through Goa in or about 342 testifies to the Christian presence in Goa, while a record of the Goa Kadamba King Jayadesi pays eloquent tribute to his Muslim governor of the city – *Sadan – (Chhadama)* to whose wise administration it owed a substantial part of its prosperity.

These Muslims, who were mostly Arabs, were mainly engaged in trade; and they enjoyed a high position in society thanks to the prosperity they brought to the state. In the inscriptions, for instance, of the Shilaharas of North Konkan, the *nakhara* or trade guild of these merchants called *anjan* which appears in these records in its Sanscritized form of *Hanjumana* – is ranked with the three *vargas*, namely the three higher orders of Hindu society. They are among the privileged ones – ministers, high government officers and heads of *mathas* – to be informed of an agreement entered into by certain merchants with Rattaraja, the Southern Shilaraha monarch. The Muslims enlisted themselves in the Goa Kadamba armies and when the latter invaded the north Shilahara kingdom they are said to have taken active part in the devastation of the Shilahara territory.¹⁷ They would thus appear to have built for themselves an almost impregnable position on the West Coast.

Some of these Muslims were owners of merchant fleets and it is not unlikely that the Goa Kadambas availed themselves of their expertise in navigation to build for themselves a powerful navy. Wood was plentiful in our mountain region and vessels of whatever kind could be easily constructed with the desirable material. They were thus able not only to hold their own in their kingdom but lord it over the neighbouring states as well. A maritime power, the Kadambas of Goa gave impetus to coastal as well as overseas shipping. With Goan ships bound for inland and foreign ports and ships from far and near visiting Goa, the latter became the entrepot of the West Coast. The Kadambas who proudly styled themselves *Paschima samudradhisvaras* richly deserve this title. The Arab ascendancy in the art of navigation continued till the early years of the 16th century when it passed to the Portuguese. It is a happy coincidence that Vasco da Gama, the greatest seaman of the age, was led into Calicut by the greatest pilot of the times, Ibn Majid, forty-four of whose log books, full of information of the seas he navigated, have so far come to light.

It is one of the glories of the Kadamba monarchs that they all patronized learning with the result that many learned men flourished at their court. This was true even during the regime of the early Kadambas. The Harsi inscription of Harivarma while describing the attributes of his father, Ravivarma, avers that the latter supported holy and learned people “with the wealth he had amassed with just means”. The Harsi inscription of the Goa Kadamba king Sivachitta, while speaking of his ancestor Jayakesi, asserts that the streets of his capital were filled with the palanquins of his *pundits*.¹⁸ They are inscription of other rulers, a fact which shows that they were not only patrons of scholars but were themselves men of academic distinction. Among the poets who flourished at the Goa Kadamba Court, the roll of honour is filled with the names of Chandrasuri of the *Saligramiya* gotra, *Vyavaharapatra* – kavi Vishvarupa, *Kavinam Chakravarti Pandya* and *Raja-Guru Padmaya Bhatta*, *Dharmadhikarana Madhusudhana Suri*, *Jaynesvara Sur Govindadeva*, described as *nirankushamati* in *kaṭita*, and *Annanayya*.

What made the rise of these literateurs possible was the sound training imparted in the various educational agencies of the time, viz. *agharah*, *brahmapuri* and *matha*. The

most important of these agencies was the aghara consisting of a community of learned Brahmans whose profound scholarship attracted students from far and near. Here education of an advanced type was dispensed in all branches of human knowledge. And it was here that people of diverse races and religions assembled. The agharas may therefore be said to have constituted the real universities of medieval India, the *studium generale* or schools of universal learning.

The second agency that disseminated learning was the Brahmapuri which was a settlement of learned Brahmans in parts of towns and cities. It differed from the aghara, for while the latter was a corporate body and formed a unit by itself, the Brahmapuri does not seem to have possessed these characteristics.

The third agency that played an important role in cultural life was the matha. It was a typical Indian monastery with monks, ascetics and students living within its precincts. It also served as a free boarding house.

In order to enable these institutions to carry on their work, they were richly endowed by kings and chieftains and philanthropic and wealthy citizens.¹⁹

For a long time Sanscrit was used for official purposes in Goa and throughout Konkani and Konkani like Marathi took centuries to develop. The first recorded instance of the former being employed for other than domestic purposes is in the imprecation against the revocation of a grant, the well-known ass curse, occurring in an early grant of the Sitahavas; whereas the first such instance of the latter is as late as the 14th century in the Konkani prayer of a cowgirl, finding expression, strangely enough, in the Marathi poet Namdeo.

It was long believed that there were hardly any writings to speak of in Konkani before the Christian missionaries applied themselves to the task and produced a sizeable corpus of literature. But during a sojourn in Portugal, the late Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlencar came upon several pieces of Hindi hagiograph in Konkani in the public library at Braga.²⁰ They were written in the Roman script, which would indicate their missionary provenance. For in their own writings, the missionaries preferred Roman to the indigenous script current in Goa – Kandevis. This was the running hand of Old Kannada developed during the Kannada period, which was in use throughout Goa till the end of the nineteenth century. These pieces of writing were evidently intended for the use of the missionary, attempting to learn the language, and formed part of the Konkani literature flourishing in Goa since pre-Portuguese days. And indeed if it was necessary for Fr. Thomas Stephens to master Gnaneshvari and other Marathi classics before he could produce his best epic in the language, the Krista Purana, it stands to reason that he had to take similar pains for mastering the extant Konkani literature, to produce his other *chef d'oeuvre* Doutrina Cristao, a compendium of Christian doctrines in Konkani. Pissurlencar however believed that the Konkani works he had discovered at Braga were translations from Marathi for the use of the Christian missionaries. But the latter studied both Marathi and Konkani and were not in need of Konkani translations of Marathi works. It would rather seem that they were meant for the use of the common people who could not read them in the original.

Agriculture was by and large the occupation of the people. Industries were few and far between, being confined to spinning, weaving, masonry, brass works, carpentry, jewelry, iron works, basket-making and the extraction of oil. The trade in the country was mainly in the hands of three classes of leaders: indigeneous, itinerant and foreign. There was a sprinkling of cities where trade and industry were regulated by guilds, each craft having a guild of its own, and merchants similarly organizing themselves after the commodities sold by them. The guilds acted as local banks and government treasuries and they fulfilled the duties of municipal self-government. For with them were invested the monies that were granted to temples and institutions of public utility by kings and wealthy citizens from the interest whereof they had to fulfil the terms of the grants.

The pre-Portuguese Culture, high though it was, was not without its defects. Society was so static that one born in a lower caste could not change it to improve his

fortune. Its treatment of the outcastes was cruel and inhuman. In its eyes the lower orders, as the Manusmriti puts it, existed only "to serve meekly" the other classes, particularly the Brahmans, holding out hopes of promotion to higher ranks in subsequent births. It fails miserably if the treatment of women is made a measure of its excellence. The widows were compelled to burn at the stake of their dead husbands, and escaping, were subjected to unheard indignities – shaving of the head and wearing of mean clothes. It denied them re-marriage, which drove a number into prostitution, as the same word standing for widow and prostitute in most Indian languages would show. It is no wonder that A.P. Sharma, writing on the position of women in a recent issue of the Times of India (July 24, 1988) should have been forced to observe: "looking back, the modern Hindu feels intrigued and hurt, even baffled and shocked when he tries to make out why his great ancestors decided to use the accidents of sex and birth as the sole determinants of one's rank and function in the social system. To put it bluntly, one could say with sufficient justification and continuance of the Aryan patriarchy have been guilty of sexism and racism".

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KONKANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

BY DR. OLIVINHO GOMES

This paper will deal very briefly with the origins of the Konkani language, its evolution and use as a medium of literary expression and attempt to provide a few glimpses of its considerable but fragmented literature. It will take you through its early stages, its exuberant phase fostered by the foreign missionaries, the subsequent persecution unleashed against it, its slender yet continual literary endeavour amidst a period of relative decadence, and on the revival or renaissance that it is witnessing at present in spite of the heavy odds still ranged against it.

1. Origin of Konkani

Konkani is a language that takes its name from the narrow belt of land on the western seaboard of India known from times immemorial as the Konkan, one of the settled regions of ancient India. Konkan is in its turn derived from Kondgkan or Kongvan, meaning the abode of the Konkas, a proto- australoid or austric tribe reported to have been living in this region from very early times. The surviving descendants of this tribe in Goa are the present-day 'gavddi' and the related 'kunnbi', 'vellip' and other aboriginals. References to the Konkas and their habitat and speech are known to be found in ancient Indian literature, notably in Sanskrit and Tamil.

The Konkas are akin to the Mundas, the dominant strain of the group now living mainly in the Chota-Nagpur plateau of the Bihar State of India. Their organised speech is Mundari, a versatile tongue, an encyclopedia of which has been compiled and published up to the letter S, by Rev. J. Hoffman. A cursory perusal of it will make it clear that there are startling similarities between this speech and Konkani, leading some scholars to the suggestive conclusion that the roots of Konkani may indeed go deep into that ancient tongue.

Into this primitive speech were later injected elements from the dominant Dravidian languages of the region, especially Kannada under whose rulers' sway the Konkani homeland had come, particularly during the reign of the Chalukyas in the sixth to eighth centuries, with the Sumerian traces in them. During the extensive reign of the Mauryas, the Magadhi and Sauraseni Prakrits had invaded and prevailed in this land and their peculiarities were absorbed in it. With the arrival of the Indo-Aryans en masse in the eighth century or thereabouts, from the northern and eastern parts of India, carrying with them their own speech, and picking up on their way the Prakrit of the northern Deccan, called 'ancient India's song-language' and their settlement in the Konkan, Konkani had

been shaping into a homogeneous language arising out of this melting-pot. In the tenth century or thereabouts it had grown into its own, emerging as a supple medium of literary expression, with a strong Sanskritic base and grammatical structure, aligned to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, to the point of its being called the 'first-born daughter' of Sanskrit, or as we would say in Konkani, 'Sanskrutachi mhalgoddidhuv', the word, 'dhuv'-originating from the Sanskrit 'duhita.

2. Early Traces of Written Konkani

This 'oldest of modern Indo-Aryan tongues' as the renowned scholar, Dr. Jose Pereira, authoritatively calls it, was, however, unfortunate in not being favoured with official recognition, probably owing to the paucity of its speakers and their lack of cohesive community feeling and assertiveness and its homeland being under the control of sovereigns not of its own extraction.

When the Kannada kings ruled over the Konkani homeland, the Konkani language had on its own vital steam grown full-fledged by the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is at the dawn of the 11th century that the Kannada speakers seemed to notice it for the first time, the earliest to do so being perhaps the Kannada kings Chavundaraja and Gangaraja in their inscriptions, like the one at the foot of the mammoth Jain monolith of Bahubali or Gomatashwara at Shravanabelagolla (1116-1117) in coastal Karnataka. There is the word/phrase indicating the order of Chavundaraja, 'karaviyalem' (caused to be made) is in authentic Konkani, even in modern usage among the Konkani-speaking people in that area, having the distinct Konkani causative affix 'ya' in the order inscribed on that granite stone.

Another royal witness to Konkani's use at that time appears to be the Chalukya Emperor, Someshwara-III, one of the earliest students of popular literature and song in Indian languages. He quotes in the same century a couplet in his 'Manasollasa' in what he says was Maharashtri Prakrit. But the 'ka' dative in the poem's first line betrays the fact, as Dr. Pereira asserts, that it is in Maharashtri Prakrit's first-born, Konkani, (the second being Marathi).

There are several such inscriptions scattered all over the Konkani coastal tract, even in supposedly Marathi sentences, announcing the actual existence of Konkani, the language of the land. Even in texts purported to be in Marathi, composed by writers from the Konkani, illustrative example of this practice is the cropping up of Konkani words and entire phrases in bold relief in early Marathi literary works like the 'Lila Charitra' of Shri Chakradhar Swami of the 'mahanubhav' movement in Maharashtra, and even in 'Dnyaneshwari' of the great Sant Dnyaneshwar, the father-founder of Marathi literature.

However, the first known poem in Konkani comes from the pen of the Marathi saint-poet, Namadeva, composed in early 14th century. The background to the poem is the story of Shri Krishna, the mischievous god, pilfering playfully the clothes of cowgirls bathing in a pond. Whereupon the girls implore that their clothes be restored to them, which is the subject of the poem, each doing so in her own language. The Konkani girl does so in her own language of that period, and one can see that it is distinctly Konkani. Nothing more has been traced of that period relating to Konkani.

3. Early Native Konkani Literature

Following the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa in 1510, and the adoption of the Roman script for Konkani, which language the missionaries learnt in schools especially set up for them, they translated some Konkani works which had survived the holocaust ordered by the Inquisition, into that script, from the original stated to be in Kandevis

script, akin to the Hala-Kannada script used in neighbouring Karnataka. It is paradoxically in that 'alien' script that the oldest known Konkani classics, the extensive tales of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have been found in manuscript form in the Portuguese town of Braga, probably written in the early years of the sixteenth century as dictated to them by the native pundits.

Their authorship has been attributed to Krushnadas Shana and his companions from Quelossim, Salcete. But further examination of the manuscripts has revealed that their names are not mentioned therein, as they are in a companion manuscript in Marathi. They are, however, in a rich, sophisticated Konkani prose, indicating an earlier stage of development that must have preceded it. The first set of stories from the Mahabharata, the 'Adi Porv' has been edited and recently published by Prof. L.A. Rodrigues, whose erudite research has also been unravelling the rich and versatile vocabulary of old Konkani that had once carried this language to a lexical and syntactic plenitude.

4. Constructive Missionary Work

The Konkani prose that was fashioned later by the missionaries was, in contrast, to the above, patterned on the Latin structure. Thus Konkani was endowed with a modern developed prose, well in advance of its sister languages. The installation of the first printing press in India, in Goa, in 1556, provided Konkani with the first printed grammar in any of them. The grammar was composed by a Goan seminarian, said to be Andre Vaz, of Carambolim, based on which the Jesuit Thomas Stephens elaborated the first printed grammar in Konkani. The extant source-book of old Konkani prose that is the 'Doutrina Christa' first written and published by Stephens in 1662, has been re-printed in a facsimile edition with notes by Dr. Mariano Saldanha, professor of Sanskrit and Konkani, in Lisbon University, in 1945. We also had the first dictionaries or 'Vocabularios' before 1570, Konkani-Portuguese and vice-versa, in any Indian language, as well as the first works on comparative philology, followed by many grammatical lexicographic and literary prose and poetry works of a predominantly didactic and religious nature, recording for posterity the heights that Konkani had attained at that early period of time. Much of that enormous endeavour has unfortunately been lost. The efforts of Dr. Mariano Saldanha and Mons. Graciano Morais, both professors of Konkani in Lisbon University, have brought to light several of these works.

Important literary works of this frenetic period of activity on the part of the missionaries, mainly Jesuits and Franciscans, of which a rare copy has been located were: Frair Amador de Sant'Ana's Konkani version of Ribadeneyra's classic entitled 'Flor Santorum' (Lives of Saints -1612); Jesuit Joao de Pedrosa's 'Devachim Ekangra Bollnnim' (1660), a translation of Bernardino Villages' classic 'Soliloquios Divinos'; Ignazio Arcamone's 'Sogllea Varusache Vangel' (1667), the Konkani Gospels for the whole year, in magnificent prose, the first version in an Indian language of any portion of the Bible; 'Sant Antonichim Acharyam' (Miracles of St. Anthony), an original work by the Jesuit Antonio de Saldanha. The most outstanding original work of that golden period spanning more than a century of fruitful endeavour of a literary and linguistic character, was the Jesuit Miguel de Almeida's 'Onvalleancho Mollo' (Garden of Shepherds - 1658 -59), a prose poem of elegantly sublime proportions, a sort of 'Summa Theologica' in Konkani, wherein 'abstract' theological concepts are expressed in vivid poetic language', in five massive volumes, only two of which have been found up to now.

5. The Decline

But after this peak of literary achievement came the period of decline, with the missionary ardour having cooled off, with the Franciscans turning against it and urging

measures to stamp it out. The final lethal blow fell in 1684, close on the heels of the Maratha seige of the city of Goa, then capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, a year earlier, with the Viceroy of Goa, Count of Alvor, issuing a decree which had been called the 'sentence of extermination' of Konkani. This decree which banned the use of Konkani on pain of denial of baptism, marriage and priesthood was followed by others in civil and religious spheres with a view to outlaw the language from its homeland and impose Portuguese on the people who were at this time, it must be borne in mind, Catholics in an overwhelming majority in the densely-populated four of the eleven talukas effectively in their possession. The ban was grossly disobeyed.

The deleterious result of this persecution, however, was that the Christian upper classes of Goan society began gradually veering towards Portuguese, exhibiting that as a badge of honour, and looked down upon their own mother-tongue, becoming abject victims of an inferiority complex which is still with them in some measure. The Goan Hindus had rushed into the arms of Marathi at a critical period of Goan history, with their confreres' conversion to Christianity, and with their priesthood being lured into lucrative administrative posts in the Vijaynagar civil service, the Hindu temples in Goa were left to the mercy of imported Marathi priests who made their speech lord it over Goan Hinduism, searing that language into their consciousness. Later the need to learn Marathi to keep themselves abreast of the saint-poetry across the border, and for trade relations with the neighbouring Maratha country, led them to it as a second language.

The single literary standard of Konkani had broken down into several variants with the people having fled to other parts of India, to what is today Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra, in a bid to escape the persecution and the famines, Maratha raids and epidemics that befell Goa in the 17th century and thereafter.

It was in these times of agony that the people passed through that Konkani took refuge in song, religious and profane, though other writings continued to find the light of day, keeping the flickering flame of Konkani literature burning. As religious hymns were needed for performances in the newly-raised Churches, vibrant compositions in Konkani were prepared by Goan poet-composers set to the tunes of the polyphonic Italian music grafted on to the trunk of Konkani folk-music. A large body of such compositions had accumulated by the dawn of the 19th century. Some of the best of them were the moving 'Rigolo Jesu Molleantu' (Jesus' Entry into the Garden of Gethsemane) of Fr. Joaquim Miranda, of Talaulim, Ilhas; Dona Baretto's (Margao) 'Papianche Xerattinni' (Refuge of Sinners); 'San Francisco Xaveria' of Fr. Pascoal Dias, of Carmona; and 'San Jose Bogta, Bagivonta' (St. Joseph, a devout saint) of Carlos Trinadade Dias, of Davorlin-Navelim (Salcete).

In the profane realm, the lovely composition of the 'Manddo' was fashioned, again in Salcete mainly out of the blend of Konkani folk-poetry infused with sentimentalism and the western melody the upper classes among the Goan Christians had acquired from the Portuguese contact, and needed to accompany western dancing they were introduced to. There is a large corpus of 'Manddo' compositions, essentially a poem or rather a song of love, recounting a story of frustration and longing, from the pen of many gifted composers. The earliest known composers of the 'Manddo' are known to have been Ligorio da Costa, of Curtorim, and Carlos Trindade Dias, of Davorlim-Navelim, both villages in Salcete. It reached its apogee with the great trio of such compositions, Arnaldo de Menezes, Gizelino Rebelo and Torquato Figueiredo, of Curtorim. Their compositions show a rare imaginative power and deep feeling coursing through them.

The Sashti variant's achievements in verse were not matched in any worthwhile prose, except for the devotional writings of Fr. Pascoal Dias, who, however, began the process of distortion of Konkani syntax to western pattern, which reached intolerable limits.

6. The Linguistic Controversy

As if the prostration the language had reached was not enough, a controversy arose on the philosophical level about Konkani's right to be recognized as an independent language. Most of it was born out of ignorance of its early literature and much due to the prejudices against it and political machinations of vested interests. It was John Leyden who, though acknowledging that Konkani is distinct from Marathi, stated that the former was merely a dialect. But William Carey, the great Baptist missionary, in Serampore, affirmed the independence of Konkani and chose it as one of the few languages into which he prepared his Bible translations. John Wilson concurred with Carey that Konkani was an independent language. But others like J.M. Mitchell, the travel-writer Richard Burton, Erskine Perry, R.X. Murphy had doubts on the issue, which were based on a study of Konkani spoken in Malwan.

But in Goa at that time, there had landed as its Chief Secretary, the erudite scholar, J.H. da Cunha-Rivara, who took up the cause of Konkani with great zest and vigor, assisted in his efforts by M.V. Abreu and the versatile Francisco Luis Gomes. Cunha Rivara demonstrated in his 'Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani' (Historical Survey of the Konkani Language) how it was distinct from any other language, and gave an account of its history and a list of its literary works as catalogued by him on the basis of findings in the libraries of Portugal, in one of which, that of Evora, he had once been a librarian. He concluded with his earnest call to Goan youth, which, given its relevance even now, I am reproducing here in its English version, from the Portuguese original:

"It is high time to repair past mistakes. It is time to restore the mother-tongue. To you, Goan Youth is reserved this great task, and essential element of the intellectual and social regeneration of your fellow countrymen. The methodical cultivation of the mother-tongue (Konkani) will make you familiar with Marathi, facilitate the knowledge of other Asiatic and European languages, ancient and modern and, through them, open the doors of intelligence to all useful knowledge and unearth from a world unknown to you today, the treasures that lie hidden therein for want of an appropriate instrument for their exploitation...."

It was Dr. Gerson de Cunha in Bombay, who in his book entitled "The Konkani Language and Literature" (1881), systematized and coordinated the arguments in favour of Konkani's distinctiveness in an incontestable manner, dwelling on all aspects of its vocabulary, phonetics and grammar. Later trends, however, once again contributed to bringing about a confusion in the minds of scholars who pondered over these two sister languages: Konkani and Marathi. The parties to the controversy were also stalwarts like Fr. Angelo Maffei, Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar and Dr. J.A. Saldanha. Konkani received shabby treatment at the hands of supposedly knowledgeable scholars like Sten Konow, a Norwegian with scant knowledge of Konkani literature, and the British encyclopedist, G.A. Grierson, who took the former's assistance in the compilation of the Marathi and Konkani sections of his massive 'Linguistic Survey of India'. Konow, however, affirms at one place that Konkani 'branched off from the common Prakrit at a relatively early period', which statement is very significant to arrive at Konkani's age.

Konkani's position was again defended by the Luso-Goan poet, Fernando Leal, who took up cudgels for what he called "the resurrection of Konkani", in 1905, with a heroic manifesto. His comrade-in-arms was the famous publicist and Member of Parliament, Cristovao Pinto, who vehemently defended Konkani's identity and espoused the cause of Konkani schools. But the Goan Hindus of the time opposed the idea, bound as they were to Marathi, being led by Suriaji Anand Rao. Yet there were among them also a lone man of honour that was R.P. Vaidya alias Dada Vaidya, the famous ayurvedic physician of Ponda, who wrote in and defended Konkani, speaking it in 1961, at the first 'Provincial Congress' during the erstwhile Portuguese regime. But his voice was drowned on the cacophony of his co-religionist headed by Samba Sardesai who prided falsely in

denouncing the language they spoke among themselves in the normal course.

It was with the appearance on the scene of Mons. S.R. Dalgado, one of the greatest of Konkani scholars, that the language received the much-needed shot in the arm. In his masterful exposition in various journals he systematically demolished the dialect theory and proved Konkani's distinct and independent formation, examining the problem from all angles, based on his command over several languages including Sanskrit, the Chair of which he had graced in Lisbon University. So did another outstanding scholar Dr. S.M. Katre, Director of the Deccan Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, in his book, 'The Formation of Konkani' (1942). With the publication of the Frenchman Jules Bloch's 'La formation de la langue marathe' (1920), Konkani had been established as an independent language, definitively. With Dr. V.P. Chavan's 'The Konkani and Konkani Language' (1924) containing his lectures before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, juxtaposing Konkani words with their Prakrit originals and with Marathi and other languages like Gujarati, Bengali and Hindi, showing how Konkani is closer to them than to Marathi in some respects while being different in others, and how Marathi had borrowed from Konkani, the controversy had virtually subsided.

But it was again raked up by the Marathi zealots. It was Shennoy Goembab's aggressive espousal of the 'cause celebre' in his 'Konkani Bhashechem Zoit' (1930 – Triumph of the Konkani Language) that added fire to the controversy. The evident anti-Konkani and anti-Christian bias of the Marathists was fought against fiercely by the cruzading zeal of the Shennoy who could not tolerate any affront to his mother-tongue or disparagement of his confreres. He set out to demonstrate Konkani's separate identity and his enormous research in this sphere is embodied in his 'Konkani Veakornni Bandavoli' (1932 – Grammatical structure of Konkani); 'Konkani Nadshastr' (Phonetics), and recurs often in his other works. His historical research is incorporated in his 'Goenkaranchi Goeam-bhaili Vosnnuk' (1928 Colonies of Goans outside Goa); 'Valipattancho Sod' (1962 – Research on Valipattan); 'Ievkar-Odheokshanlem Ulovp' (Speech as President of the Reception Committee) of III Konkani Conference (1945), in which he demonstrated how much Konkani had retained of its Vedic heritage, that the Rashtrakuta emperors were of Goan origin, and how the predicament of Goan residents and emigrants could be sorted out practically by being true to their own Konkani values.

7. Towards Revival

Apart from Mons. S.R. Dalgado, who single-handedly compiled the massive Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani dictionaries in 1893 and 1905 respectively, and the 'Florilegio', the bouquet of Konkani proverbs, with explanations and comparisons with other languages, and Shennoy Goembab, whose work has been mentioned above and more to come later, the call given by Cunha Rivara was headed by the talented Eduardo Bruno de Souza, in Poona. He brought out the first newspaper in Konkani, a monthly soon turned into a fortnightly called 'Udentechem Sollok' (Lotus of the East, 1889). It was followed by a virtual flood of journals, weeklies, dailies and fortnightlies. The first Konkani Daily, 'Sanjechen Noket' (Evening Star) saw the light of day in 1907, edited by B.F. Cabral, from Bombay. On its extinction, two other dailies made their appearance in Bombay to wit: 'Konkani Bulletin' (1932) and Goan Observer (1933), edited by A.V. da Cruz and J.L. de Souza respectively. A sort of Konkani Readers' Digest called 'Rotti', edited by Fr. Ludovico Pereira, started publishing from Karachi. 'Vauraddeancho Ixti' (The Workers' Friend), a weekly was begun by the Pilar Fathers. These two are still in existence.

The latest phase of modern journalism in Goa turned towards the Antruzi slant from the Bardeshi prevalent earlier, and was ushered in by the bold Felicio Cardose's daily, 'Sot' (Truth), in 1963, and its high traditions were carried on by the large format

'Divtti' (Torch), adopting the tentative standard Konkani that has evolved in the State for the past twenty-five years now, edited by Hugo de Souza, both published from Margao. Later came 'Uzvadd' (Light) edited by Evagiro Jorge from Panjim; the 'Novem Goem' by Dr. F.M. Rebello and 'Sunaparant' edited by Chandrakant Keni, both from Margao. The foremost weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies, like 'Gulab', 'Kullagar' are all in his tentative standard Konkani variant.

Eduardo's Konkani epic 'Eva ani Mori' (1899) inspired by readings from Dante, Camoes and the sacred hymns, is a considerably significant achievement. He also gave a head start to the Konkani novel by his 'Cristanv Ghorabo' (Christian Family) and others after the traditions of the French novelist, Alexandre Dumas, from 1891. But his lead was not kept up for long, though his colleagues like F.X. Fernandes-Liberal (1889) started with high hopes. Later there was a decline in the quality of the novel, though the production in this genre even today is as prolific as ever and is lapped up by the half-educated reading public for whom it is the only form of entertainment, the most popular of these novelists being Reginald Fernandes, A. Carvalho and A. Gomes. Fr. Antonio Pereira is the most prolific among the writers in the realm of the religious and biographies of saints, along with Fr. Alvaro Renato Mendes. Fr. Pereira's autobiographical novel, 'Vadoll ani Varem' (Wind and Storm) is noteworthy.

In the realm of the drama also, Bardeshi's contribution has been significant, though the earlier writers, Agostinho and Caetano Fernandes, hailed from Raia in Salcete. The first Konkani drama was staged in Bombay in 1892 by Lucas Riberio with the help of the Fernandes brothers. Agostinho's outstanding play 'Kunnbi Jaki' was a hit at that time. He wrote about 30 plays of good standard. Konkani drama was rescued from its subsequent stagnancy by the plays of Shennoy Goembab who first wrote them in Roman script for a Christian audience, being adaptations from Shakespearean drama. Later, he did a few adaptations from Moliere's plays, the most famous of them being 'Mogachem Logn' (The Marriage of Moga) and 'Povnachem Toplem' (A Pot of sovereigns), based on 'Le Medicin malgre lui' and 'L'Avare' respectively. Kisan Kamat and Raghuvir Neurenkar did a few good plays.

In the recent times, Pundalik Dande wrote two important plays, symbolising the comedy and tragedy in Goan life, entitled 'Tachi Karamot' and 'Nimit'tak Koronn' respectively, which were widely acclaimed. Among the younger set of playwrights, Pundalik Naik has been the dominant force for some time now, with plays portraying in trenchant realism the distortions that are creeping into Goan society with the onset of freedom. Ramakrishna Zuwarikar has brought a number of plays from the French and English into Konkani, either translations or in adaptations, as well as two original plays based on historical facts. Dilip Borkar, N. Shivdas have also tried their hand at drama in Konkani. In the 'Teatro' variety also some improvements are coming about with educated writers coming to this genre, men like Tomazinho Cardoso, Freddy da Costa, Partick Dourado and others.

Accomplished prose writings of an intellectual nature have come from the pen of Pandurang Bhangi and R.N. Naik, K.S. Naik, Lakshmanrao Sardesai. Ravindra Kelekar began his prose writing in his 'Mig' periodical (1953) and has distinguished himself in original writing of a philosophical nature in his famous 'diaries', essays and travelogues. The Konkani short-story has reached considerable heights, with Chandrakant Keni with four books to his credit being the forefront, his latest being 'Vhokol Pavani' (1985) (Reaching the bride home); Damodar Mauzo with two books; 'Zagronnam' and 'Ganthon' 'The Wake' and 'A stringful of fish' respectively; Meena Kakodhar with 'Dongor Chonvorla' (The Hills are abloom); Sheela Naik with 'Oli Sanz' (Wet Evening); Pundalik Naik and 'Mutthai' (A bunchful); Olivinho Gomes with 'Mon Voddta Voddona' (The spirit is willing ...); Jaymala Danait with 'Kavasso' (An aromatic plant); N. Shivdas with 'Gollisori' (Necklace). Others who have occasionally been writing short-stories of merit in Konkani are : Uday Bhembro, Suresh Kakodkar, Sumant Kelekar, Gurunath Kelekar, Angelo Pires, Shyam Verenkar.

It is in poetry that Konkani has had the greatest blossoming in Goa during this period of the renaissance. The poet who had achieved fame in Marathi, Bakibab Borkar, had turned to Konkani in the sixties, with a collection of poems called 'Painzonnam' (Anklets, 1961) which marks a historic turn in Konkani poetry. Later, came Manohar Sardessai with his 'Goeam Tujea Moga Khatir' (for your love, Oh Goa) heralding the renaissance in Konkani poetry, followed by other books like 'Zaiat Zage' (Awake, Arise) and 'Zaio Zuio' (Jasmines) and 'Pissollim' (Butterflies). It was with Dr. R.V. Pandit that Konkani poetry came to public notice with a resounding bang, with the publication on one and the same day of five books of poems in 1963, setting a new trend, in free verse, in down-to-earth realism in depiction of the soul and soil of his native Goa, in its joys and sorrows. Of his total output of about 20 books of poems, his most outstanding work is 'Dorya Gazota' (The Roar of the Sea). His Konkani poems have merited translation into a number of Indian and foreign languages, having won several awards including one from the United Nations and figure in several world anthologies of poetry. Pandurang Bhang's 'Dishttavo' (Vision) and 'Odrushtache Kolle' (Blossoms of the Unseen) are remarkable for their mystic touch and fresh new horizons of emotion. Poets of the younger generation in Goa are: Olivinho Gomes with 'Punzail'leo Paklleo' (Garnered Petals, 1974) and 'Suskare' (Sighs, 1984); Pundalik Naik with 'Ga Ami Rakhnne' (We are the cowherds); Prakash Padgaonkar with 'Vascayan', 'Uzvaddachim Pavlam' (Steps of Light) and 'Hanv Monis Ashvatthamo'; Ramesh Veluskar with 'Morpakham' (Peacock Feathers); Yusuf Shaik with 'Ganthi' (Knots); Uday Bhembro with 'Chan'neache Rati' (On a moonlit night); Lino de Sa with 'Addambe' (Bars); Sanjeev Verenkar with 'Bhavzhumbar' (Emotional Notes). Suhas Dalal and Ramakrishna Zuwarakar have turned their attention to religious hymns in 'Stotras' (Psalms). Madhav Borkar has published 'Uzvaddacho Rukh' (Tree of Light); 'Votantleo Sanvolleo' (Shadows from the Sun); lyrical poems like the others.

In Karnataka too poetry is being published by the younger generation of writers in Kannada script in the Manglurri variant. The moving lyrics of C.F. D'Costa are yet to be published in book form. J.B. Morais with 'Novi Vhoko' (New Bride, 1977) and 'Bhitorlem Tufan' (Inner storm, 1984) continues to write, experimenting in poetic drama too. The younger set like Cyril Sequeira combine beautiful lyricism with a wry humour and pathos and comment on the present scene, others being Pratap Naik with 'Jivitantlim Ghodditam' (Events of Life), Edward Nazareth, Ambrose de Souza, The forte of Konkani writers in Karnataka has been the novel and the short-story. V.J.P. Saldanha is the major novelist as well as the leading playwright in Konkani, as is J.S. Alvares in the short-story in particular. Yeshwant Palekar has been writing in all genres in his 'Konkan Bharati' monthly magazine featuring writers from all over the Konkani region. 'Abranvanchen Yadanadan' (Abraham's Sacrifice) is an epic poem of Luis Mascarenhas, based on an episode of the Bible, as 'Pashavanchem Git' is a long poem on the Passion of Christ by Sylvester Menezes. In Mangalore the 'Dirvem' and later 'Raknno' journals have been promoting valuable literary work in Konkani.

In Kerala, the earliest document from the Goan emigrants there is one in notarial prose, dated 20-4-1675, signed by three Konkani physicians, Rangabhat, Apubhat and Vinayak Pandit, from Cochín, according authentication to the important compilation that was the 'Hortus Indicus Malabaricus' on Indian medicinal plants, done with their active assistance by the Dutchman Van Reede. This testimonial is written in Konkani in devanagari characters and carries also its Latin version.

No other record of work in Konkani in Kerala had been traced so far, though the scholar John Leyden mentions having seen Konkani prose works in the form of translations of the 'Bhagwad' and 'Linga puranas, Ramayana and Mahabharata and many others from Sanskrit and original works like 'Virabhadra Charitra', 'Parsram Charitra' as also some local histories and temple 'sthal' puranas, among which are the stories of pirates Malliwani and Angre. Later literature in Konkani in Kerala has been very sparse. However, recently there has been some keen activity being developed by the younger

generation there. N.N. Anandan has penned 'Anondalim Pondam' and Prof. R.K. Rao has translated the 'History of Malayalam Literature' into Konkani.

Among the Konkani Hindus of Karnataka who also were emigrants from Goa, the literary activity started around the 17th century and picked up in the 'bhakti' (sacred/religious) poetry, with two women saint-poets Avaddibai of Bednur and Jogavva or Jognani of Hemmadi. The latter part of that century saw Samarth Appaya thrilling audiences with his sublime lyrics in the 'bhakti' (devotion) 'gnyan' (knowledge) and 'vairagya' (renunciation) spheres at Bailur. There were several commentaries on the 'Bhagwad Gita' the Hindu Song Divine. Surkund Annaji Rao used Konkani in poetic drama and is perhaps the first to put up Konkani 'yakshagana' patterned on that famous art-form of Karnataka popularized by Dr. K. Shivram Karanth. In prose Narayan Tirtha wrote the famous allegory, 'Mana-Indrivanlem Charitra' (The Mind and the Senses). The Swamis (Prelates) of Chitrapur Math (monastery) have contributed their mite to the enrichment of Konkani through their writings in the form of addresses to their various congregations which are an excellent specimen of Konkani metaphysical prose collected in book form.

Religious writing has found assiduous devotees among the Konkani-speaking people, particularly in Karnataka. Nagesh Sonde has done several biographies of Hindu saints as Frs. Antonio Pereira and Alvaro Renato Mendes have been doing in Goa. Among the Christians in Goa and Karnataka, a common Bible part-translation has been approved for the seven Konkani-speaking dioceses of Goa, Bombay, Pune, Belgaum, Karwar, Manglore and Chikmagalur and is in use uniformly throughout the Konkani land. Fr. Moreno de Souza has contributed considerably to Konkani hymnology and religious poetry. Swami Anand Augiar's poetry is refreshing and direct in its appeal to a believing audience.

Humorous writing also had been cultivated with verve in Goa as well as in Karnataka. Dattaram Suktankar brought out his book of essays called 'Man'ni Punov' (Special Moonlit night) and A.N. Mhambro his 'Goenchi Asmitai' (Goan Personality) and 'Poonji Atam Mhatari Zalea' (Panjim has now grown old); Ramakrishna Zuwalkar in 'Amcheo Khobro' (Our Gossip); K.S. Loliencar in 'Kashi Mhonntta' (Thus spoke Kashi); Cyril Sequeira in his 'Fugeteo' (firecrackers); Francis Saldanha in 'Vach-ia ani Hans-ia' (Let's read and laugh); Manohar Sardessai in 'Ailo Poll', 'Lokshai'; Bhikaji Ghanekar in 'Picnic' and other books of poems for children mainly. Arun Sukhtankar and Purshottan Singhal do occasional writing in the press and for the radio.

Translations and adaptations have been quite common in Konkani from the early days of the missionaries. Recently there has been a spurt of them and it has demonstrated the power of Konkani to express any given thought and feeling on the basis of its own resources. Baki Borkar's 'Gita Pravachana' from Vinoba Bhawe's original in Marathi, and his Konkani version of 'The Prophet' of Kahlil Gibran; Olivinho Gomes' translations from Gibran's 'The Broken Wings' and George Orwell's 'Animal Farm'; and 'Meghdoot' and 'Shakuntala' from Kalidasa's original in Sanskrit; Pandurang Bhangis' plays, 'Salome' from Oscar Wilde and 'Marinheiro' (Seaman) from Fernando Pessoa; 'Yaksha Prasn' and 'Raghu- wansa' from Sanskrit done by Shripad Desai; and the 'Mahabharata' brought into Konkani by Ravindra Kelehar, are some of the highlights in this important field of literary endeavour.

For translations serve as a catalyst in stimulating literary activity in the languages into which it is undertaken. Institutions which have provided the necessary stimulus in the development of Konkani have been the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, first established in Karwar in 1939, by the fiery advocate, M.M. Shanghag (1887-1950) and the Konkani Sahitya Parishads (Literary Conferences) it engendered; Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha, of Cochin, under Purshottam Mallaya, which was in the forefront of the demand for Konkani's recognition by the Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Literature); Konkani Obheas Kendra (Research Centre) of Antonio da Peidade Morias, and others.

As the literary work in Konkani is on the increase, literary criticism is coming into

its own, with several members of the teaching fraternity in Goan Colleges taking up this genre of writing. Worthy of note is Harischandra Nagvenkar's 'Aswadan' (1987) and Lakshmanrao Sardesai's 'Katha-Shlip' (1977) and the writings scattered in various journals, of Tensing Rodrigues, R.V. Pandit Manohar Sardesai Pandurang Bhang, Olivinho Gomes, Prakash Thali, S.M. Tadkod, Yeshwant Palekar, Prof. L.A. Rodrigues and others. Fillip is also being given to lexicographic work and perhaps the first Konkani-Konkani dictionary in three volumes, compiled by Shripad Desai, has been published, Prof. Rodrigues and Fr. A. Aguiar have brought out the first instalment of their Konkani-English dictionary recently and others are expected soon.

The glimpses that I have attempted to give of the Konkani language and its literary achievement, despite persecution from the rulers and apathy of its own people will show that it has had an unbroken tradition. It has now resiliently come into its own with younger writers taking to it enthusiastically. Konkani communities scattered all over the four States of the Indian Union are coming closer to each other and their reintegration into one homogeneous community that it once was, at least on the side of the socio-intellectual level, may soon be a reality. Konkani is already being taught as a medium in some schools in Goa and Kerala and as a subject in schools, higher secondary schools and colleges and has been introduced at the post-graduate level in the new Goa University, in 1987, to be followed soon, hopefully, by the Mangalore and Cochin University.

It is observed that after the breakdown of the common literary standard and the dispersal of the Konkani community, each one went about producing literature in its own manner, there being no communication between the various groups. It is of the utmost necessity that the Konkani communities in the four States of the Union come together to exert their considerable influence to prevail upon their people and the respective governments to recognize Konkani as a medium of instruction and promote it at all levels, standardizing it in its essentials, with ample freedom on the peripheral areas with one common script, preferably the Devanagari, which has been accepted by all.

This is the language of our forefathers, a rich and versatile medium with immense possibilities in literature and other forms of expression of which we are the heirs. It behoves us to return to our roots through her, for our whole cultural framework revolves around this language, and regain our lost vigour by drinking at the source of this perennial and inspiring vitality. That will give us robust self-confidence and pride in our own heritage and a bright hope for the future that beckons us.

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SOME GOAN MONUMENTS:

Churches, Piazza Crosses, Temples and Mansions

BY DR. JOSÉ PEREIRA

The drawings are by Jose Pereira, except those of Fig. 2 which were drawn to the specifications of Mário Tavares Chicó (1905-1966), the pioneer of the art history of Indian Baroque.

FIG. 1: VELHA GOA (OLD GOA, CATHEDRAL OF ST. CATHERINE, MAIN PORTAL, c. 1600. JULES SIMON OR ANTÓNIO/AMBRÓSIO ARGUEIROS.

The cathedral of Goa, or the Sé (1562-1631) is the largest Renaissance monument in the entire Portuguese world. 78 meters in length, it is larger than any church in Brazil; and in Portugal it is exceeded in length only by a few churches, such as that of the Jerónimos in Lisbon (89.70 m). Work on the Sé, begun in 1562, got under way only after 1597, when JULES SIMON (JÚLIO SIMÃO, fl. 1597-1641), the real architect of the cathedral, arrived in Goa, having been named chief engineer of Portuguese India by the Spanish monarch Philip II, then also ruler of Portugal. SIMON may well have been the son of JEAN DE ROÛEN (JOÃO DE RUÃO, c. 1500-1580), one of the first French architects and sculptors to arrive in Portugal, drawn there by the wealth brought into the country by its explorers and merchants. SIMON's architecture was inspired by the great JUAN DE HERRERA (c.1530-1597), designer of some of the age's grandest monuments, the monastery and palace of the Escorial, the cathedral of Valladolid, and the church of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, all of which SIMON may have seen.

FIG. 2 CHURCHES IN THE INDIAN STYLE. a. VELHA GOA, NOSSA SENHORA DA GRAÇA (OUR LADY OF GRACE), 1597-1602, CHURCH OF THE MONASTERY OF SANTO AGOSTINHO. b. TALLAULI, SANTANA, 1681- 1689, JESUIT CHURCH.

While the Sé is almost entirely European in its style, the Graça marks the beginning of an Indian style church. On the one hand, it displays a familiarity with the idiom of classical architecture, and follows the proportions of the pilasters and their entablatures as laid down in the European canons; on the other, it introduces an Indian element, the increased number of storeys. In Indian architecture monumentality demands multiplicity, as that of bays and storeys. European churches may have many bays in their facades, but they usually have two and rarely more than three storeys. The Graça, however, has four in its façade and five in its towers. With five bays in the façade, it creates a symmetrical 5 x 5 scheme, one appropriate (to the Indian way of thinking), to a grand church; a more modest one would be expected to have a 3 x 3 scheme. The Santana adopts the 5 x 5 scheme, but modifies the proportions of the pilasters according to Indian taste, abandoning their European fixedness and lengthening and shortening their shafts according to need. The Indian style produced five outstanding monuments, which may be called the Indian Baroque Quintet. Besides the Santana, it includes the following four: the Espírito Santo of Velha Goa (1660-1665), the most monumental of the five; the Espírito Santo of Morhgom/Margão (1675-1684), the most majestic; the Nossa Senhora da

Piedade of Divarhi/Divar (1700-1720), designed by the Goan priest ANTÓNIO JOÃO DE FRIAS), the most luminous, and the Santo Estevam of Zuem/Jua (1759), the most ornate. The Santana combines their special features and may be termed the masterpiece of Indian Baroque. However, it is in a sadly ruinous state, and is badly in need of repairs. Besides, it is difficult of access, the old laterite road over the hill which links it with Velha Goa being overgrown with bushes. But the road can easily be macadamized and the church thus made accessible to pilgrims and tourists.

FIG 3: GOAN PIAZZA CROSSES. a. NUVEM, CROSS BEFORE THE CHURCH OF JESUS, MARIA, JOSÉ. b. MORHGOM/MARGÃO, CROSS BEFORE THE CHURCH OF ESPIRITO SANTO – both of the early 19th century

The Indianization of the Baroque climaxed in the piazza crosses of Goa. They appear to be Baroque versions of the Hindu temple tower, which, like them, has a tripartite elevation of molded base, ornate body and curvilinear superstructure. Only in the piazza crosses, the lusters, on above the other, with at least the lower one covered with acanthus leaves. The balusters are separated by flattened and faceted spheres, which by their shape recall the massive coping stones of Hindu temples.

FIG. 4: GOAN HINDU TEMPLES. a. KAULLEM/QUEULÁ, SHANTA DURGA TEMPLE, LAMP TOWER (KHAMBÓ, DIPASTAMBHA. b. KUNDDOI/CUNDAIM, NAVDURGA TEMPLE DOME. c. MORHKOI/MARCAIM, NAVDURGA TEMPLE, DOME. 18th – 19th centuries.

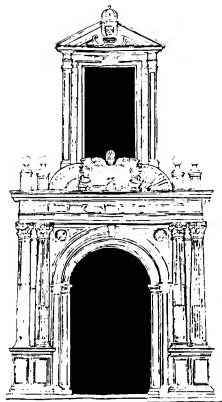
Other modes of Indianization are to be found, in the Goan Hindu temple, such as the extreme dwarfing of the pillar shafts in the Lamp Tower, forbidden in the European style, but here permitting each low lamp niche to have its own entablature, thus allowing for the multiplication of the cornices crowning the pillars. This creates a broken and vibrant outline, whose vibrancy is accentuated by the glow of the lamps. Goan Hindu architecture shows a preoccupation with light even in the domes of the Hindu temples, where the frieze of the entablature is doubled to make room for more lamps. These domes, moreover, combine an articulation of engaged columns and entablatures and balustrades derived from the Renaissance, with the pointed niches and onion domes of the mosques of Bijapur. The Lamp Tower and the dome are the most striking features of the Goan Hindu Temples. Like the domes of Spanish and Mexican churches, they prefer the octagonal to the circular plan.

FIG. 5: PANVEL/PANELIM, NOSSA SENHORA DA PIEDADE (OUR LADY OF COMPASSION), c. 1770.

The European style had a fresh impact on Goa in the late 18th century, when the lyrical Rococo style, French in origin, with its love of fanciful curves and vegetal and shell-like forms, became the rage in Portugal (and in Brazil). In Goa, however, it did not displace the Indian style, and was employed in chapels, mortuary, chapels, pulpits, altars, piazza crosses and mansions.

FIG. 6: MORHGOM-BOD-DDEM/MARGÃO-BORDÁ, SAT BURNZANCHEM GOR ("THE SEVEN TOWERED HOUSE"), MANSION OF JUDGE EURICO SILVA, c. 1780.

One of the most sumptuous mansions in the Rococo style, a miniature Goan Versailles. It was built for the administrator Inácio Sebastião Silva (1750-1839). Noteworthy are the "swan-neck" volutes in the pediments, the large windows decorated (in typical Goan fashion) with small panes of nacre, and the steepness of the roofs.



*Fig. 1 - Velha Goa Cathedral of
St. Catherine main portal*



*Fig. 2a - Velha Goa Nossa
Senhora da Graça*



Fig. 2b - Tallauli, Santana



Fig. 3a - Nuvem, Cross

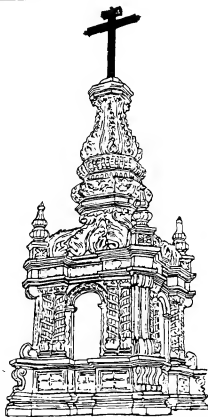
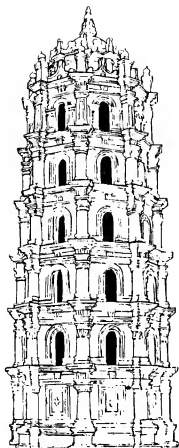


Fig 3b - Morhgoum/Margão Cross



*Fig. 4a - Kaullem/Queula,
Lamp tower*

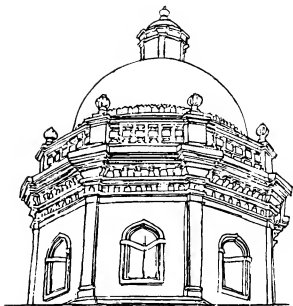


Fig. 4b - Kunddoi/Cundaim

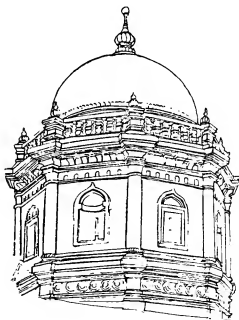


Fig. 4c - Morhkoi/Marcaim



Fig. 5. - Panvel/Panelim



Fig. 6 - Morhgoum-Bod-ddem/Margão-Bordá

ASPECTS OF THE GOAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

A brief overview

BY DR. OLIVINHO GOMES

This paper will attempt to portray a brief profile of the Goan cultural heritage, providing glimpses of the varied factors of a physical, racial, artistic, socio-economic, linguistic and historico-political character that have shaped it and the manifestations that they have given rise to in the matter of concrete expression and achievement in different fields of human endeavour. It will try to isolate the distinguishing traits of this cultural ethos with the values, propensities and predilections that have animated it through the ages, enabling the Goan to hold his own in the variegated environments he has been thrown into in quest of greener pastures.

Goa has been a melting-pot of various civilizations that landed in its bosom. The traditional Hindu with its allied Buddhist and Jain streams, the Perso-Arabic and the Latin-European Christian faiths and the cultures that they embodied, met and endeavoured to mate on its fertile soil in a rare coexistence-cum-synthesis, absorbing also into their substance the ancient austic element that still survives in the age-old Goan village communes, with the Dravidian and Sumerian traces in it. This blend of a distinctive Goan culture, appearing on the surface as a client sub-culture, with its propensity to adapt itself to changing circumstances while jealously retaining its core, has always submerged and over-ridden the structures of the dominant regimes that ruled its homeland throughout the vicissitudes of its chequered history, and emerged triumphant, though considerably emasculated in the struggle against heavy odds conspiring towards its extinction.

We will deal very succinctly with the factors that have contributed to the formation of this unique cultural heritage and fashioned the way of life of its people, under the following heads:

a) Physical environment

It is axiomatic to say that man is a product of his environment. Goa is situated on the coastal tract of western India known geographically as the Konkan, with a wide seafront to the west, indented in nature, with creeks, inlets and shelters to seafarers, making it a great trade entrepot, with natural harbours like Mormugao and navigable rivers like Mandovi and Zuari which originate on the western ghats mountains that shield and separate it from other regions, wherefrom cascade the Dudhsagar and Arvalem waterfalls, with sprawling beaches like Colva and Calangute, balmy springs and brooks, undulating hills and valleys overflowing with evergreen cover, washed by abundant rain and shimmering sunshine, dotted with Temples and Churches, Chapels

and Shrines, Crosses and statues of deities at every turn.

This is an idyllic country, covering an area of 3701 sq. kms. in its present set-up, the smallest and youngest State of the Indian Union, divided recently into two districts, North and South Goa respectively, with eleven talukas or counties, containing four major towns; Panjim, the capital, Margao, Mapusa and Vasco-da-Gama, and 443 villages and hamlets. The Goa region handed over to the Portuguese under the treaty between their Viceroy, D. Pedro de Mascarenhas and the Adilshahi heir, Prince Mealkhan Abdullah, was however, a larger territory comprising around 900 villages.

Surrounded by the most breath-taking scenery the country possesses, as only Kashmir and Kamrup can rival, with lush vegetation and orchards of delicious fruits like the mango, jackfruit, pineapple, guava, chikoo; green paddyfields that turn to gold at harvest-time, fanned by groves of coconut-trees, with rivulets, ponds, lakes and sea that provide fish, staple food and delicacies, the Goan has become naturally a worshipper of nature and its produce, a lover of beauty in all its forms, a connoisseur of the good things of life that he sees offering themselves to him in bountiful measure. This makes him over indulgent at times, prone to take things easy, though he has risen to the occasion when times demanded. Turning his leisure which he enjoys sincerely into an art of gracious living, the Goan has lived his placid life in this piece of paradise sung in ancient legend.

b) Legendary Fame

This lovely land was the cynosure of the gods and goddesses of the Indian pantheon. Legend has it that Lord Shiva of the Hindu trinity, after leaving his wife, Parvati, and his residence in the Himalayas, took up temporary abode in Goa under the name of Gomantakesh, from Goa's ancient appellation. He remained there until he was discovered by his wife who, roaming anxiously everywhere in search of her husband, was confronted by a tiger, whereupon in despair she uttered a cry for help 'trahi mam girish', to find him materialise from the animal into human form. From then on, the god becomes Mangirish or Mangesh in Goa.

The seven sages (saptarishis) are reported to have performed their penance here for seven million years and pleased god so much that he came personally to bless them in the form of Shiva. The Indian classic, '*Suta Samhita*' refers to Goa in these eloquent words: '*By the sight of Govapuri (another name for Goa) the sin committed in the previous existence is destroyed, as at sunrise darkness is dispelled. Certainly there is no region equal to her.*'

There is also the myth that Parasurama, an incarnation of god Vishnu, shot his arrow into the Arabian Sea, whereupon the sea receded, laying bare the fertile region of the Konkan, the arrow having fallen at Bannavli, Goa.

c) Racial Character

Goa in Konkani is called 'Goem' which, in the austic tongue, Mundari, means land cultivated high with grass and food crops. It might be the name given to the land by its earliest known settlers, Kols, Mundas and their kinsmen, the Konkas, from whom is derived the Konkan. The hegemony of the Dravidians, followed by the Sumerian arrivals, lent a new shape to this racial configuration. The wave of Indo-Aryans from the northern and eastern regions of India, particularly Punjab, Bengal and Rajasthan, and their settlement in the Konkan, in the early centuries of the Christian era, gave substantial shape to this ethnic blend of Goan culture by the eighth-tenth centuries. The later contact with Muslims and the Portuguese did not bring about racial admixture of any consequence, except for the initial marriage of Portuguese soldiers to widowed muslim women after the carnage on Goa's conquest by Albuquerque, which resulted in the '*mesticos*' in Goa.

d) Religious Complexion

On the animistic beliefs and superstitions on the tribals worshipping the forces of nature and the ant-hill (*roinny* in Konkani) later to be transformed in Santeri or Shantadurga, a prominent religious feature being the representative '*barazann*' deity in the form of granite stelae, gathered the Dravidian forms like 'linga' (phallus), nag ('cobra') and 'peepal' (fig-tree), the Sumerian component being temples of community worship, female dancing therein and human sacrifice to propitiate spirits. The Indo-Aryans with their yagna' (sacrifice) adopted the 'puja' worship of the Dravidians, to form a more comprehensive Hinduism, amalgamating both the forms.

Buddhism spread to Goa through the first Goan missionary, PURNA, who was received into the fold at the hands of the Buddha himself, and who propagated it further south up to Sri Lanka. This scene is depicted in one of the frescoes in the Ajanta Caves at Aurangabad. Jainism had its sway in Goa, particularly during the reign of the Kadambas. These two religions have had a profound impact on the moulding of the peace-loving character of the Goan. Latter-day Hinduism absorbed many features of the older religious traditions. Santeri or Shantadurga is symbolical of the Goan character, uniting the contrast of 'santi' (peace) and 'raudra' (anger).

During the Muslim interlude, Islam made its way into Goa with a sizeable section at the time becoming followers of that religion, lending its touch in art and architecture as well as in music that flourished during the 'sufi' movement. Dislodging this latter influence to a large extent descended its arch-enemy, the strict Latin-European Christianity brought in by the Portuguese at the turn of the sixteenth century, which was, forcibly or persuasively, seared into the consciousness of a large section of the Goan people, deeply and indelibly. As the Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre puts it: 'Goa's Catholicism became more Roman in its orthodoxy than that of the Roman clergy itself.'

On the other hand, with the takeover of Goan temples by Marathi priests, which hold still continues, Goan Hinduism had tried to become more Marathi than the Maharashtrian. It was only in the present century that Goan intellectuals like Shennoy Goembab perceived the subservience of the former to the latter and tried to remedy matters, pointing out that the Konkani brand was common to both Hindu and Christian Goans, and proposed a reconstruction of Goan society, once a monolithic community, under the benign mantle of the two 'protector goddesses', as he called them, Santeri and the Virgin Mary, for this common endeavour. Of course, at the centre of the Goan Christian pantheon is the physical presence of St. Francis Xavier and assistance of the miracle-worker, St. Anthony, besides the patron saint of each village, while for the Hindu it is the family deity. They revere each other's beliefs while practising their own, to the extent bordering on religious syncretism, in the true secular spirit of 'sarva-dharma-samabhav' (equal respectful feeling for all religions). This religious harmony is sought to be disturbed recently by peniculous elements from outside who are intent on dividing the Goan people.

It must, however, be painfully realised that, out of Goa's present population of a little over a million, only 71% or so constitute ethnic Goans, of which the Goan Hindus may not exceed 40%, Christians 30% and Muslims 1%, the rest being non-Goans.

e) Socio-economic structure

The Goan socio-economic structure was embodied in the 'village commune' or '*ganvkar*' which governed the inter- relationships in the village – basic unit of self-government. The Commune played a material role in making the Goan attached to his village, though these have been urbanised over the years. The common land of the village belonged to the commune and was leased out in plots of paddyfield land and fruit-

bearing trees to the highest bidder at the auction ('pavnni'), the income thus obtained being earmarked, after the payment of tax to the ruler, for building and repairs of roads, canals, drains, sanitation, health, education, police, Temple and Church. The surplus was apportioned as 'zonn' (ancestral dividend) among male members of the Commune who had attained the age of fourteen or so. The Commune dealt out to each 'ganvkar' (landholder) his job and allotted to each artisan his calling on payment in kind and usufruct of a paddyfield in perpetuity, all designed for the welfare of the village as a whole, irrespective of the castes and classes constituting it.

This institution of a cooperative nature exists to this day, but has been singled out for extinction, despite the recommendations of the Dias Land Reforms Commission and the exhortations of the Planning Commission. It was this institution with its codified law, unique in India, tampered with but not abolished by the Portuguese, that shaped the Goan way of life, revolving around the temple and later the Church in the converted parts, where the three Rs were ministered and which preserved the Goan usages and customs in an on-going process of living, unaffected by the change in religion that drew a wedge between brethren but maintained the kinship of fellow 'ganvkars' who enjoy the same privileges.

Wherever he may go in search of better prospects the Goan came home to collect the 'zonn' due to him and was proud to be a 'zonnkar'. In commune meetings and discussions Konkani proverbs played an important part, solving many a problem to the satisfaction of all concerned. The Commune evolved a democratic functioning at the grass-roots level, making the Goan self-reliant and confident of his abilities. The Commune has now been supplanted by the Panchayat and the Goan economy affected by the vagaries of a monetised system, with mining, agriculture, fisheries and related services sustaining it precariously, with rumblings in the entrenched social structure and inter-relationships.

f) Parish and Feasts and Festivals

The Commune had subsidized the Temple and the Church in the performance of their feasts and festivals. The parishes organized around them became the centres of all activity of a religious, social, cultural and educational nature, disciplining the life of the people and instilling in them morality, honesty and respect for elders. They trained the children to sing and play the violin, nurturing the natural talent they discovered in them, turning out great musicians of the later in life.

Feasts and festivals gave carefree vent to the Goan's zest for living while stoking his religious fervour, making them great occasions for merriment. Apart from Dushera and Diwali celebrated with great pomp and eclat among Goan Hindus, the Ganesh Chaturthi or Chovoth, as it is called locally, is observed with enthusiasm by all the people. Similarly, the 'Shigmo', which is the local version of the Holi in the rest of India, is a festival that throws up a riot of colour like its 'Christian' Carnival, the three-day pre-Lent rejoicing. Carnival is a festival of revelry, with a pageant of colour, with mock battles of 'cocotes' (missiles of chalk, sawdust and flour), carriages decorated with colourful designs and costumes, groups of serenaders masked exotically, with musical instruments, visiting houses and spraying scent and powder upon unsuspecting maidens in particular, like the 'Shigmo'.

These festivals with their manifestations of folk-art bring into play the artistic talent of Goans, even the least literate among them enacting plays for the masses in the form of 'Fell' put up in a makeshift manner, reflecting the social and political conditions in the area. These are parodied in music, song, and dance interspersed with dialogue bristling with comedy and satire.

Christmas is the season which generates a great flurry of excitement in Goa. Sweets

like 'Mandare', 'Korbolam', 'Filoz', 'Dodo', 'Bebinca', 'Bolinham', 'Nevreos' and 'San'na-Vodde' are the seven types prepared during the seven days preceding Christmas Day, each family having its own way of making them. On the last day, all members sit on a mat to make 'nevreos' and 'vodde' wherein children are expected to try their hand making 'stars', 'bangles', 'wrist-watches' out of kneaded flour, and even 'babies'. The first to be made on that day is the Cross, to invoke the blessings of the Babe of Bethlehem. One of the 'nevreos' may be secretly filled with salt and one who gets it when distributed may be dubbed as the 'black sheep' of the family.

g) Culinary Art

In the art of cooking, the Goan has contributed some rare dishes like 'pork vindalho', 'sorpotel', 'cabidel' which are delicacies much sought after and shown as specimens of Indian cuisine. Apart from these pork preparations there are innumerable fish preparations like 'guizado', 'recheiado', which delight the palate. As a matter of fact Goan cuisine is a blend of its own derived from Portuguese and French styles, modified suitably by the Goan chef with local flavour, in tune with his '*bon vivant*' attitude to living. This mainly Christian Goan culinary art is a unique contribution to world cuisine.

h) Love for Sports

The Goan has demonstrated his abilities on the field of sports and games too, his favourite being football or soccer and hockey, with great names like Neville de Souza in football and Serafino Antao and Stefie de Souza in athletics, shining on the international scene. Every field in a Goan village provides an improvised playground for football in particular, hockey and cricket following suit, with volleyball, basketball and athletics thereafter in order of preference. Football figures prominently as a topic of everyday conversation and is virtually a craze among the people, being pretty high in the cultural spectrum. Along with football is the Goan inordinate love for fish and affection for 'feni', the Goan national drink.

i) Historico-political background

Turning next to the history of Goa in brief perspective, it has to be stated that Goa's early history is shrouded in hazy legend and is yet to be unearthed fully, for there have been indications of ancient settlements at Cudnem, Lamgaon and other places. In known history, Goa had come under the Mauryas around the third century B.C., the Satavahanas in the second and third centuries A.D., the Chalukyas and the Bhojas thereafter. The Goan Shilaharas (765 – 1020 A.D.) are known to be the only native Goan kings to rule their homeland. They were feudatories of the Rashtrakutas who ruled the greater part of India for a brief period and whose Goan origins have been attested with evidence by Shennoy Goembab, Prof. George M. Moraes and Dr. Jose Pereira. Incidentally, it was one of the Rashtrakuta emperors, Govinda III who built the famous Kailas Temple carved out of a single rock at Ellora Caves (Aurangabad). Later came the Kadambas from Karnataka who reigned from Chandor and Goa-Velha (Voddlem Goem) for about three centuries until they were routed in 1327 by Mohamed-bin-Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi. The Bahamani Sultans and the Vijayanagar rulers were involved in a tug-of-war for Goa, the former having built the new city of Goa, the present Old Goa from Ela village. For much of the time there was overlapping jurisdiction of various rulers on Goan

territory. In 1489 the Bahamani empire crumbled and Goa fell to the lot of the Bijapur Adilshahi rulers. The Adilshahi Sultans held Goa until they were defeated by the Portuguese in 1510, definitively, a rule that lasted for over four and a half centuries.

With the coming of the Portuguese missionaries, there began a campaign to bring the people to the religion of the rulers. It was, however, noticed that the neo-converts continued with their old practices which were perceived as being Hindu. The Jewish converts from Portugal had come to Goa and were becoming dominant in Goan trade and commerce. It was at this time that the Portuguese implanted the Inquisition in Goa in 1560 and it set about its notorious activities in the '*auto-da-fe*' (Act of Faith) burnings at the stake. The residue of that frightful memory persists to this day in the psychological formation and idiosyncracies of the people of Goa. That Tribunal of the Inquisition was abolished in 1812, after it had dealt out its cruel terror on them.

The Portuguese continued to be harassed in the rest of Goa which was not effectively under their control, despite the treaty referred to earlier. They were attacked by native chieftains like the King of Sundem, the Muslims of Bijapur, the Ranes of Sattari and the Marathas of Shivaji and Sambhaji. But by 1763, the Portuguese had established their firm foothold beyond the three (now four) talukas of the so-called '*Old Conquests*' and called the latter '*New Conquests*' on that account.

Portuguese rule was not taken lying down by Goans, who engineered several revolts against them. The revolt of the people of Cuncolim, Assolna, Veroda, Ambelim was the first in 1588 itself, which was brutally put down. In 1652, Fr. Mateus de Castri, a Goan priest who was made Bishop of Chrisopolis, is reported to have organised an open revolt against them, with the view to annex Goa to the Bijapur kingdom, but failed. The major revolt against the Portuguese was the so-called '*Conspiracy of the Pintos*' in 1787, headed by a group of Catholic priests and military officers, because of the denial of opportunities for their advancement. Their aim was to overthrow the Portuguese and establish an independent State of Goa. It was, however, nipped in the bud and the rebels dealt with cruelly. The brain behind this conspiracy is believed to be the great Abbe Faria, who later fled to Paris and took part in French politics and fathered the science of hypnotism.

The Portuguese aimed at transforming Goans into something resembling themselves and they did succeed in their purpose to some extent, inspite of the uprisings of the Ranes, Dipu Rane's in 1852, and Dada Rane's in 1895. They staged another two revolts in 1901 and 1912, but did not gain in any of them. Earlier there had been revolts of the Goan Army against its dissolution and closure of the Military Academy in 1870. In between came the British troops in 1797, ostensibly on the pretext of protecting Portuguese interests but had to leave in 1813, getting some concessions by way of supply of salt and spirits under the Abkary Act, 1878 and building of a railway link with British India.

On the other hand the quarrels between the Portuguese Padroado (mission agency under State patronage) and the Papal institution set up later for the propagation of the faith called '*De Propaganda Fide*' became very fierce, owing to which the suppression of the Jesuits by Marquis de Pombal in 1759 and other religious orders by 1795, the Church buildings suffered neglect and criminal damage at the hands of a callous officialdom, which even made attempts to abolish the Goan village commune.

Goa was undergoing a period of modernisation at the turn of the nineteenth century, with the telegraph being installed and steamships coming to our ports, bridges being built and roads linking its villages with towns and later the railway link with the then British India in 1888. During this period journalism flourished and scholarship was encouraged. Goans learnt social dancing in the European fashion and the custom of wearing western clothes became common. Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes (1829-69), the brilliant writer, economist and parliamentarian of European fame, while in Portugal, demanded independence for India for the first time on the international plane, in the famous letter dated 5th January, 1861, to the French poet-statesman Alphonse de

Lamartine, well before the great Indian figures like Mahatma Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak and Dadabhai Naoroji appeared on the scene. Earlier, in 1852, Fr. Jeremias Mascarenhas, another Goan M.P., in his speech in the Portuguese Parliament, had demanded independence for Goa at the time it was granted to another Portuguese colony, Brazil.

Elections have been held in Goa since 1822 when the people sent their first representatives to the Portuguese parliament and other local bodies. This process caused a lot of suffering to the Goan people as they dared many a time to vote against the Government-sponsored candidates. Bernardo Peres da Silva, who later became Goa's only Goan governor (1833) was one of the first Goan M.P.s, along with Dr. Jose de Lima Leitão and Mr. Constancio Roque da Costa in 1823. Dr. Silva was soon deposed from the governorship on account of local machinations, exiled and defeated in his attempts to stage a comeback. Government officers like Joaquim Garcez were savagely lynched by the people in the elections of 1854, in Divar, an event commemorated in a 'Mando' called 'Luizinha', a touching piece of folk-poetry.

Two political parties were formed in Goa around two leading journals, '*O Ultramar*' (1859) and '*A India Portuguesa*' (1861), the '*Ultramarino*' (Overseas Party) headed by the Costa family of Margao, and the '*Partido Indiano*' (Indian Party) led by the redoubtable Dr. Jose Inacio de Loyola, of Orlim, Salcete, which latter party had all the leading Goan intellectuals of that time in its fold, including Roque Correia-Afonso, of Benaulim, and Jacinto Barreto-Miranda and Salvador da Costa-Alvares of Margao. They engendered important discussions on all matters concerning the welfare of the Goan people in education, agriculture and industry in their journals. The most bloody happening in Goa occurred on 21st September, 1890, an event commemorated in the Mando called '*Setembrache Ekvisaveri*' (21st September), when 27 people were mercilessly gunned down on the Margao Church Square, on orders from the hated governor Guedes, who was on popular protest, later dismissed by the King of Portugal. In 1910, a Republic was declared in Portugal when Goan Hindus began participating in the political process more actively in view of the liberalism of the new regime.

The Goan freedom movement in modern times was spearheaded by that great nationalist, Dr. Tristao de Braganza-Cunha, who founded the Goa Congress Committee in 1930, along with Adv. Venkateshrao Sardessai. Luis de Menezes Braganza addressed rallies and brought forth a resolution in the Goa Legislative Assembly, affirming Goa's right to self-determination and protesting against the '*Acto Colonial*' which sought to give secondary status to the colonies including Goa, which later had been treated always on par with Lisbon.

Later, on invitation from the Goan nationalist leader, Dr. Julião Menezes (Assolna), the great Indian socialist, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, came to Goa in 1946 and called on the Portuguese to quit Goa, and exhorted Goans to rise against the foreign rulers. In 1947 while India became independent, Goa continued with the Portuguese until December, 1961, when the Indian Army walked in, after a son of Goa, Air Vice- Marshall Pinto do Rosario had bombed the radio station at Bambolim, severing our link with Portugal. Earlier, India had imposed an economic blockade on Goa in 1955-61, to force the Portuguese to quit Goa, which caused great suffering to the people of Goa, making the government import goods which earlier used to come from India and also activate the economy by producing locally.

As the Indian National Congress party wavered in its policy on Goa's future, the people shied away from it and there was a polarisation of forces ranged for and against Goa's merger with the neighbouring state of Maharashtra. To avert the calamity of a likely merger, the United Goan Party was formed at the eleventh hour with the amalgamation of five parties committed to the same objective. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, with the backing from the neighbours, managed to secure 14 seats and the U.C. with no preparation and resources to fight an election, still was able to bag 12 seats, but the former could form the government with the help of two independents, with Dayanand Bhandodkar as the first Chief Minister of free Goa.

However, the process of 'degoanisation' had set in motion with the active connivance of the alien element, the ill-effects of which are being felt excruciatingly now, though during that period there were some positive results achieved also in the matter of development of the backward areas of Goa and uplift of the disadvantaged groups and classes of one community at least. The opponents of the ruling party were discriminated against and suffered from various disabilities. Goan society was sought to be divided on religious lines, with the outside element gaining in strength and becoming extremely aggressive and oppressive to the people at large. Whereupon a movement for the overthrow of the regime began, with thousands courting arrest including women for the first time in Goan history. The Government of India finally decided to hold a referendum on the issue of merger, calling it the 'Opinion Poll'. Though the odds were heavily loaded for merger, there being a number of policemen and other civil servants from the neighbouring State on deputation, and alien labourers on the mines who were entitled to the vote, while tens of thousands of Goans in the rest of India, who had been denied the vote in earlier elections on account of the fact of their being Portuguese citizens, were not allowed the right to vote in this crucial poll, the verdict against merger with Maharashtra was given by the people by a majority of over 50,000 votes. Goa had been saved for posterity with this heroic struggle of the people who had toiled hard to accomplish this objective in a herculean campaign from door to door, convincing the people of the need to keep Goa intact.

But the unity witnessed then was not carried forward into an electoral alliance at the election held thereafter to constitute a new legislative assembly. The M.G. won the elections again and formed the government, with the anti-merger forces being split. The United Goans party then merged with the Congress and tried to wrest power from the M.G. This could be done only at the elections in 1980, where the Congress (Urs) romped home with 23 seats out of 30, routing the M.G. The Congress (Urs) defected wholesale to the Congress (I) on election. The Congress (I) was, however, returned to power on its own in the election of 1984, but the issue of Goa's statehood could only be settled in 1987 and Konkani being made the sole official language, has found diluted approval.

j) Linguistic position

Konkani is the mother-tongue or ethnic expression of all Goans irrespective of caste or creed. No Goan speaks to another in Marathi normally. He may either do so in Konkani mostly, or sometimes in Portuguese or English.

At the time of the ascendancy of the Yadavas on the political stage of western India, the nascent Marathi made its way to Goa. As the Hindu priests left their temples in Goa in search of lucrative posts in the Vijayanagar Civil Service and their confreres embraced Christianity, their vacancies were filled in by imported Marathi priests who made their sacred texts and language along with Sanskrit rule supreme in Goan Hinduism. But as Vijayanagar's official language and that of the earlier Chalukyas was Kannada, Konkani had naturally come under its influence. With the Bahamanis and other Muslims' rule it was the turn of the Persian and Arabic to infiltrate into Goa as it did in Maharashtra also. In 1510 the Portuguese who were in many respects similar in temperament to the Konkanis landed in Goa with their language trying to dominate the affairs here. All these languages have had considerable impact on Konkani, especially the last-mentioned, with conviviality with Goans for more than four and a half centuries.

While Goa was achieving a Christian complexion by the seventeenth century, those who still remained Hindus among Goans were forced into the arms of Marathi, looking to their co-religionists across the border at a time of ferment of the 'santa sahitya' (religious/saint literature) there. With the Marathas knocking on the doors of Goa in 1683, the Portuguese issued the decree of 1684 which has been called the 'sentence of

extermination' of Konkani, banning the use of Konkani, upon which the Christians upper classes turned away from their own mother-tongue. The Christian looked westwards while the Hindu had turned Marathi-ward... The rest of the long story of Konkani literature I have already told in my earlier paper and I would not like to repeat it here.

It was observed that the two Goan communities, Hindu and Christian, strove in that dark and gloomy period of Konkani's decadence, to outdo each other in their bid to 'dekonkanise' themselves, the Christians trying to ape the Portuguese and English, speaking and writing too and taking pride in doing so in those and other languages while continuing to be abjectly illiterate in their own, looking down upon the latter in a spirit of inferiority complex, while the Hindus tried to do the same with Marathi. The Goan Christians are still doing it in some measure, while the Hindus have not banished it from their midst although there it is weighed down by Marathi. Work is on towards standardisation of it in the near future, though in literature this is being achieved.

In the Portuguese language we have produced a meritorious novelist of the calibre of Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes with 'Os Brahmanes' (1866) with an important biography also of Marquis de Pombal in French, which latter as a historical work was the object of praise from French intellectuals. Orlando da Costa is a living novelist in Portuguese, with 'O Signo da Ira' being based on life in Goa, acclaimed by the Portuguese Writers' Federation. Similarly, with Agostinho Fernandes' 'Boddki', another remarkable novel. The three greatest Goan poets, Nascimento Mendonca, Paulino Dias and Florianio Barreto, as well as Adeodato Barreto, Telo Mascarenhas wrote copious poetry of a high standard. In Indo-Anglian poetry we have had Prof. Armando Menezes and Dom Moraes shining as outstanding representatives, with others like Eunice de Souza and Santan Rodrigues in the forefront now. Marathi found several writers among Goans, the outstanding being Lakshmanrao Sardesai, B.B. Borkar and B.D. Satoskar. It has been researched that Goans wrote about 200 literary works of merit in as many as 14 world languages, an amazingly extraordinary feat indeed!

k) Music, Dance and Drama

The nineteenth century was a period of the worst suffering for the Goan people, but paradoxically a classic age for Goan culture. As Dr. Jose Pereira puts it: 'The Indian, Muslim and Latin elements in its history acquired a state of integration, and depth, balance and repose. Konkani folk- songs, slowly branching out in types through the centuries, now found expression in the musical and poetic forms of high art.' Goan sacred song arose out of the grafting of the polyphonic Italian music onto the trunk of Indian or rather Konkani folk music, to bring about a unique blend of compositions.

The pinnacle of Goan song in the profane sphere was achieved in the 'Mando', a poignant story of love, mostly unrequited, with the consequences resulting from it, told in the form of a song. It was a product of beauty bordering on the sublime, of which the 'ghumat' (mud-pot Goan percussion instrument par excellence) and the violin are the respective representatives of the two main cultures it blended. It was perfected by the great trio, Arnaldo de Menezes, Gizelino Rebelo and Torquato de Figueiredo.

If the 'Mando' can be called an expression of the romantic aspect of the Goan, the 'dulpod' that follows it in the singing repertoire, typifies the realistic, pragmatic and humorous facet of his psychological make-up. It is said that when a Goan is touched by the beauty of a woman, if he is poetically inclined, he expresses his innermost thoughts in the form of a moving 'Mando'. When he feels around him the excitement of the myriad joys of living, he gives expression to them in the succinct lines of the 'dulpod'. The 'dulpod' gives in its couplets a compressed account of the variety of Goan life, carefree in its mood and lively and even biting in its expression, even coarse for gripping effect.

The third form of the Christian repertoire of song is the 'dekhni', meaning 'a devil of

a bewitching woman', the song of the Hindu temple dancing girl, perhaps an expression of the nostalgia of the Christian composer for his Hindu past. Along with this, there is a song-cum-dance like the others, played by the Christian elite of Chandor, called '*Mussol*' or '*Pounding Pestle*' performed around Carnival time, dating back to a period before the Vijaynagar's. There are other songs and dramatic representations like the '*sangodd*' songs of fishermen, the '*rendram-geetam*' of toddytappers, and the '*zoti*' songs sung at weddings and other ceremonials.

The Goan Hindu repertoire is also quite rich and varied. The '*fugddi*' is a popular dance-cum-song performance, danced in circles by women, improvising some homely group activity like grinding, kneading, etc. with exchange of information in socio-religious hymnody. This is shared in some manner with Christians in some parts of Goa. There is also the '*Dhalo*' dance-cum-song, also an all-women affair, slower in tempo and danced at night with arm-around-the-back formation, swaying, bending forward and backwards, with songs of socio-religious import. The liveliest fun of a '*dhalo*' session comes on the concluding day in an outburst of freedom, when the women dress up in fancy clothes and put on male roles in a dramatic gusto and may even spring upon an unsuspecting youth and boldly carry him off.

In Drama, the Goan Christians have a living tradition of the popular theatre called the '*Teatro*', a form of operetta which mirrors with scathing commentary the socio-political scene in Goa, written by popular playwrights, who, however, generally do not rise above pandering to the cheap taste of their audience, dishing out farcical humour, melodrama and affected dialogue. Improvements are, however, coming about in their quality these days with educated writers coming to the craft, like Tomazinho Cardoso, Freddy da Costa. These plays increasingly give vent to the people's ire at being kept on the sidelines by the powers that be. Good plays of a modern standard are coming out in Goa too, in Konkani, reflecting the socio-political scene in Goa, from writers like Pundalik Naik.

Goans have also displayed their artistic talent in the making of Konkani films. The first was '*Mogacho Anuddo*'; after a big gap came two well-acclaimed films by Fred '*Nirmonn*' which won the President's Award and was later dubbed in Hindi, and '*Amchem Noxib*'. They were followed by '*Jivit Amchem Oxem*', '*Boglant*', '*Bhoierantlo Monis*' and '*Girestkal*'. Music cassettes in Konkani have flooded the market and video films of dramas have also been a roaring business recently.

1) Artistic contribution

Goa is the birthplace of the earliest rock-cut cave temples in India as well as of the first brick temple in the country, their vestiges being found in Arvalem, Lamgaon and in Chandor respectively. The finds of Cudnem may also throw up an ancient civilization that flourished there. Hero-stones at various places and temple architecture of a unique character shows the artistic skill and expertise attained by Goan artists and craftsmen. Later the interaction of Indian art with its blend of Hindu and Moslem styles with the forms that were imported from Europe by the Portuguese, resulted in further experimentation in blending and assimilation in the expression of art and architecture. The Manueline style that was fashioned in Portugal with its dense ornamentation and the '*mudejar*' manner of building and decoration combining the Islamic and Gothic features, has been strongly influenced by Goan art forms. The typical Goan architecture that evolved in the course of time bears the impress of this style which was adopted not only in Churches but also in the building of rural mansions of the Goan aristocracy, following baroque patterns in the main, the '*balcão*' (porch) being a prominent feature.

This influence later spread to Hindu temples that were built subsequently in the interior parts of Goa and on the Hindu houses of the elite also, as it did among the

Christians, which gives them a character distinct from the rest of India. In the Churches an attempt was made to harmoniously blend the characteristics of the various styles, particularly the Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Manueline and others belonging to Hindu and Muslim traditions, in which there is also an element of Jain art. These were skilfully blended by architects from Europe and executed by skilled Goan artisans, to bring about creations of beauty and strength, which still stand intact despite the passage of centuries.

The sculptures in wood and metal are a rare specimen of Goan skill. The beautiful, richly carved furniture that was fashioned by Goan carpenters can still be seen in old Goan houses and Churches and eloquently exhibit the finesse of the artist. Specimens of this furniture are reportedly found in the Palaces in Portugal and even in the royal mansions of England. The forms of European cupboards and chairs are usually retained by Goan craftsmen but the elaborate inlays of rosewood or ebony or ivory or bone set into teakwood base, used the motifs of Indian art. Legs of tables and chairs were carved out in the round as human figures, mermaids or vegetation in the form of leaves, flowers and fruits.

Even the technique of lacquering, from the Hindustani 'lac' supposedly invented in China, was a highly developed form in Goa, especially in the village of Cuncolim in Salcete, and probably rivalled that of the best oriental works. This art has deteriorated considerably over the years and is on the verge of extinction unless the government which has promised to help comes to its rescue.

Unique Elements of Goan Culture and the Self-Image

Summing up, the distinguishing traits of Goan culture, as enshrined in the 'monumental' Goan people, may be set forth as follows: a positive (at times negative), robust, joyous attitude to life, in a simple, carefree, dynamic, yet sensitive manner, characterised by kindness and generosity towards fellowmen, a sincerity and lack of deceit generally, honesty in dealings with a sense of justice and fair-play, an altruistic, God-fearing outlook and a striving for excellence, fondness for the good things of life with a connoisseur's taste for food and drink, dress, song and dance with an undercurrent of hedonism yet tempered nevertheless with a strong ethical strain, with primacy for home and family, trustworthiness and a resilient adaptability without giving up the above way of life. In their quest for gracious living, the Goans induct an element of laziness and inefficiency bordering on 'laissez-faire' 'laissez aller', disdain for hard manual work, at home at least, thinking it below their dignity, owing to which defect they are being dislodged from their places.

These characteristics are an integral part of the Goan self-image, whereby he thinks that he stands out from the rest of the Indians. While his steadfastness in the workplace is appreciated generally by outsiders, and his sincerity is being taken advantage of at times, his cultured, refined outlook and way of life is misinterpreted and is not perceived and appreciated for its intrinsic worth. He is mostly seen as culturally superficial and aping western manners and way of life in an outward show while retaining the effects of the Indian character.

In view of the above, it is necessary that we deepen our knowledge of our authentic culture and safeguard its rich heritage in its essentials at least, especially through its rich versatile language, the warp and woof of our common cultural life, in a spirit of love and mutual understanding and community feeling.

Some achievements at random

Though moving on the periphery of other cultures, Goans have produced great

work in varied fields of human endeavour, from a Manohar Malgaokar and F.L. Gomes in literature, to a Frank Moraes and S.M. Mulgaonkar in journalism, from a F.N. Sousa, Angelo Fonseca and Laxman Pai in painting, to a Nascimento Mendonca and B.B. Borkar and R.V. Pandit in poetry, from a Noel Flores and Jitendra Abhisheki in music, to a Charles Correa in architecture, from an Abbe Faria, the father of hypnotism to an Agostinho Vincente Lourenco in chemistry, from Dharmanand Kossambi in Oriental languages at Harvard, to D.D. Kossambi in mathematics, a Lata Mangeshkar and a Moghubai Kurdikar in Indian classical music to Justice Kashinath Telang, one of the earliest stalwarts of the Indian freedom movement and the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University; Bhau Daji Lad, the first Indian sheriff of Bombay and a distinguished physician, Sir Ernest Soares who had the singular honour of being elected to the British Parliament thrice from the Barnstaple constituency in Devon, England and became Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir William Gladstone, Prime Minister of England.

We have even had a Prime Minister of Portugal of Goan extraction in Alfredo Nobre da Costa, only recently, the latest among the ministers there being Dr. Armando Gonsalves Pereira, Minister for External Affairs. We have had Cabinet Ministers in the Portuguese government in Lisbon since 1898, when Elvino Brito became Minister for Public Works; Dr. Bettencourt Rodrigues, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1926- 28); Dr. Francisco da Silva Teles, Minister for Education in 1929. Back home in India we now have a Goan minister in Eduardo Faleiro, Union Minister of State, for External Affairs for some time and now as in-charge of Banking and Economic Affairs.

The above names are only illustrative of the large variety of talent and achievement nurtured among Goans. We are the fortunate inheritors of this unique Goan culture and its treasured heritage that blossomed and fructified in this tiny yet exquisitely beautiful land, now in the process of being eroded by the onslaught of mechanical modernism that many a time bypasses human relationships of a primary nature, giving inordinate importance to the mind to the detriment of the hand and the heart.

It behoves us to bequeath this precious possession in its original splendour, to the extent possible, which has seen us through thick and thin, in several parts of the world, effectively to our descendants. We have to weld again our community in an intimate embrace of a familial and emotional integration, of which united community we can continue to be proud and re-discover ourselves sincerely, to face the challenges of the future as true and authentic Goans, partakers of the great Indian civilization.

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THE GOAN DIASPORA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

BY DR. STELLA MASCARENHAS-KEYES

Migration from Goa has been occurring for centuries, but from the mid-19th century onwards, the trickle gradually developed into a flood. Thousands of Goans, mainly Catholics, left their homeland, and Goan communities became established worldwide. I am a product of this diaspora and one of the reasons I undertook an extensive examination of the phenomenon of migration was to satisfy my desire to locate an autobiography within a cultural biography.

From May 1970 to March 1981 I did fieldwork in Goa. My academic perspective was mainly premised on the discipline of social anthropology, which focuses on the intensive study of a microcosm of the society, usually a village, to gain insight into the society as a whole. I used the methodology of participant observation which requires the researcher to participate as fully as possible as a member of the society and yet at the same time to observe and interpret behaviour objectively. Such research is commonly done by outsiders – usually Europeans studying the “exotic” Third World – and it is therefore rare for someone, like myself, to study their own society. One of the difficulties for any researcher is to gain acceptance and trust by the cross-section of people studied. In the case of a native anthropologist this compounded by the fact that one is *a priori* identified with a particular sector of the society by virtue of attributes such as religion, gender, caste, class and language. The challenge then is to try to transcend such boundaries and achieve rapport with everyone. To facilitate this, I learnt to speak Konkani, acquired a rudimentary knowledge of devanagari script, learnt how to drape a sari and overcome an initial reluctance to sleep on crowded floors, use bush toilets and eat vegetarian food. Furthermore, I had to develop a ‘thick skin’ to withstand the criticism and ridicule to which I was subjected by those who failed to appreciate why I did not behave in ways which conformed to their expectations of a well brought up, educated, Catholic Goan married woman.¹

In addition to the intensive study of a village, I toured all over Goa, staying a few days in a number of villages with local Catholic and Hindu families, interviewed prominent individuals, and consulted contemporary and historical records, documents and books. My data from established communities outside Goa is derived mainly from fieldwork in Bombay, Lisbon, and supplemented by personal knowledge of communities in Nairobi and London where I had lived for several years.² This study culminated in a doctorate awarded by London University in 1987 for my work entitled *Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community*³. Various aspects of this research have been presented at numerous academic conferences and have been published in papers, references to which are given at the end of this article, for those interested in more details.

My research has demonstrated that Goa has developed into a migration-oriented

society. I contend that this is the result of a process that commenced as a reaction to the adverse economic conditions in colonial Goa but which became proactive as ambitious Goans, keen to "do well" and "come up" began to adopt strategies which capitalize on the opportunities for occupational mobility and social success outside Goa. Thus Goans themselves played an important role in fostering their own diaspora.

Most Goans were subsistence farmers, agricultural labourers or artisans and various changes to the traditional agrarian system rendered it increasingly difficult for them to earn a reasonable livelihood in Portuguese-Goa. Village lands were traditionally and collectively owned by the *gauncares* or original settlers and administered by the *comunidade*. This institution was also responsible for distributing usufruct rights through periodic auctions, maintaining the church, school and other public utilities and annually allocating the profits or *zonn* to its members. However, the stock of the village land was reduced through appropriation by the Portuguese. Furthermore, the incursion of outsiders with vested interests and the increasing intervention by the State in administration of the *comunidade* eroded its traditional autonomy, undermined its communal spirit, and generated conflict and insecurity. In addition, private property was subjected to Portuguese bilateral inheritance laws which led to an escalation in the fragmentation of land with a concomitant decrease in the economic viability of individual units. Moreover, as Goa was the political, economic, administrative and judicial headquarters of the "Estado da India" it was expected to support a large civilian and ecclesiastical bureaucracy and various colonial enterprises outside Goa.

In contrast to the deteriorating economic conditions in Goa, from the mid-19th century onwards, various international developments were taking place which provided numerous employment opportunities. The continuing availability of such opportunities in different countries served as pull factors which enticed Goans to go 'out'. For instance, the introduction of fast steamships by P & O and B.I. for global passenger travel as well as the military and civilian settlement of the British in India, Burma and the Middle East created a huge demand for personnel who could cater for European tastes in food, drink, music and dress. By the turn of this century, a parallel demand had arisen for white collar workers, particularly with the expansion of British and Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Subsequent changes in the political economy of Africa in the 1960s, which saw the demise of British and Portuguese colonialism and the establishment of independent states, compelled many Goans, some of whom were born and brought up in Africa, to migrate to the West. The liberation of Goa from the Portuguese in 1961 contributed to many Goans migrating from Goa to Portugal, and in some cases, from there to northern Europe and South America. Older Goans from Africa who were prevented by immigration regulations from settling in the West or who had no inclination to live there, returned to Goa with their dependent children. As these children have matured into adulthood, many of them, in common with some of the Goan born and reared youth, frustrated by low salaries, unemployment and under-employment have migrated to the Gulf for service, clerical, technical and professional jobs. The Goan presence in the Middle East is not a recent phenomenon as a number were employed from the early decades of this century in various capacities in Persia (now Iran), Kuwait, Bahrain and Aden.

Changes in the local and global political economy which I have briefly outlined do not necessarily in themselves lead to extensive international migration. Other factors also contributed in the case of Goans. Foremost of these was the investment in education which demonstrates the proactive character of our people. Early migrants aware of the increased availability of white collar opportunities in India and Africa, realised that successive generations of migrants did not have to be confined to working as cooks, butlers, waiters, tailors, musicians and ayahs. Such occupations had attracted Catholic Goans because of their religion and cultural syncretism had provided them with attributes which facilitated acquisition of such jobs.⁴ In order to capitalise on the availability of white collar and professional occupations, Goans had to complement their attributes with specific skills. The basic requirement was linguistic competence in English or Portuguese. Consequently,

families through thrift, hard work and self sacrifice mobilised their meagre resources and invested them in the education of their children. This was facilitated by the fact that other investment opportunities in Goa were limited. After a migrant had fulfilled his burning ambition to build a large house, further investment in the property market was curtailed by the limited availability of land and the absence, during colonial rule, of an infrastructure that would have effectively supported any investment in agro-based industries and commercial enterprises. Thus began the process, which still continues, of channeling remittance and other financial resources into education.

To complement the provision of Portuguese education, private schools and tutorial classes teaching English mushroomed in Goa. Children were also sent to Belgaum, Poona and Bombay to study at English schools and colleges run by priests and nuns. Community schools were set up, for instance in Nairobi, to educate the young. Where suitable secondary education was not locally available, facilities in Goa or elsewhere in India were used. In the last few decades, when a considerable demand for technical workers developed in the Gulf, Goans acted proactively by encouraging their children to acquire appropriate skills in order to take advantage of the new range of overseas job opportunities.

Women played a vital role in facilitating inter-generation occupational diversification. They adopted the model of progressive motherhood which entailed not only the reproduction and nurturing functions of traditional motherhood but also responsibility for childrens' educational success through promotion of Western languages, supervision of home work, arrangement of extra tuition, supplementing a traditional diet to develop "*brain not brawn*" and the constant monitoring of health to minimise absences from school. Women also became more independent and autonomous, took on a wider range of responsibilities, endured many years of separation for migrant husbands and travelled long distances accompanying their children to areas where good schools were available⁵.

The ways in which migration was organised also contributed to the diaspora. Formal recruitment agencies were minimally resorted to although nowadays, particularly for migration to the Gulf, they have increasingly been used. Pioneers sent passage money for kinsmen in Goa to travel "out" and thus began a process of chain migration which continued for decades. Through such personal contact, new migrants found accommodation and jobs and were socialised into the new, urban ways of life. A uniquely Goan institution, particularly in Bombay, which played a key role in this process were the '*coors*' for residential village clubs, which served as a base for shippies and other migrants from a specific village.

The consequences of such large scale international migration on Goa are multiple and shall only highlight some of the major ones which are essentially demographic, social and economic.

Most villages in Bardez, Salcette and Tiswadi, which experienced extensive international migration, now have an exceptionally high proportion of elderly Catholic people⁶. Indeed death is a more common occurrence than birth or marriage. The elderly live with spouses and/or relatives, occasionally with an unmarried daughter or a "*poske*", or on their own as in the case of many widowed women. In the last couple of decades there has been an increase in the number of Old Age Homes to care for the elderly who have no family members available or able to look after them. Another demographic effect is evident in the significant number of bachelors and spinsters in Goa in comparison with the local Hindu population and India as a whole. There are various reasons for this but international migration has played a contributory role. For instance, many women have not married because they have been obliged to take on the responsibility of looking after aged parents as all their siblings have all migrated. The reduction, due to migration, of the pool of eligible and geographically accessible partners is another factor. A further demographic effect is evident in household composition and structure. Female-headed households are a common feature as husbands are 'out' working on the ships or in the

Gulf. Wives have to cope with the emotional stress of separation, single parenthood, household management and agricultural production. In addition to children reared entirely by mothers are those whose parents are both 'out' and who are being looked after by relatives or institutional caregivers in boarding schools. The emotional security and stability of many of these children has been threatened and they are vulnerable to finding solace and comfort in illegal and dangerous drugs.

Large scale international migration of Catholics has led to a decline in their numbers and they now account for a third of the indigenous population in Goa. Their absence is symbolised by the numerous unoccupied houses, some derelict, which dot the landscape of Bardez, Salcete and Tiswadi. Correlatively, the proportion of indigenous Hindus has increased *vis-a-vis* the Catholics due to their lower out migration rates as well as high marriage and birth rates. Furthermore, as Catholics have taken to international migration, Hindus have engaged in internal migration. Thus, a very large number have moved from the hinterland of Goa into the villages of Bardez, Salcete and Tiswadi so that such villages which were at one time predominantly Catholic now comprise a significant number of Hindus with Catholics in some cases being reduced to a minority. The process of Hindu settlement began gradually from the turn of this century but has gathered momentum in the last few decades. The Hindus came mainly to replace the Catholics who formerly worked in the fields, to meet the demand for builders and masons to build the new houses or renovate the old ones belonging to Catholics and provide domestic services. In due course, partly as a result of favourable land and housing reform introduced by the post-colonial government, they acquired the property rights to *comunidade* and private land, occupancy rights to leased houses and better opportunities to acquire their own property.

The fact that a large proportion of Catholics in Bardez, Salcete and Tiswadi have forsaken or are marginally involved in agricultural work can be traced mainly to the increasing reliance on the remittance economy⁷. Numerous households in Goa are wholly or partially dependent on remittances from migrants 'out'. Furthermore, there are large number of returnees from Africa, who had been employed on expatriate terms, who enjoy good incomes from occupational pensions, particularly in the case of those whose pensions are UK index linked. Indeed, many of those who had a few years of education and worked as clerks in Africa, have a higher income than well qualified professional people working in Goa. This fact, together with their comfortable lifestyle, serves as strong testimony to residents that it is better to migrate than stay in Goa.

One of the other effects of the diverse pattern of international migration from Goa has been the development of the International Catholic Goan Community which transcends geographical boundaries⁸. The roots of this community lie in the motherland while its branches stretch worldwide. This is best symbolised in the Death Notices which are published daily in the local papers, such as the *Navhind Times*, which cite the ancestral village of the deceased and the international locations of the bereaved⁹. The dualism is exemplified in the culture of the International community which is constantly evolving and has a dynamic of its own. Aspects of the traditional culture persist in muted form, while western characteristics are promoted. For instance, ascribed status, which is based on caste, has become less important than achieved status. The rate of proposal marriages has diminished while love marriages, cohabitation and divorce have increased. The ascendancy of English or Portuguese as a first language in the domestic, educational, occupational and recreational domains has been matched by the relegation of Konkani to a marginal status in the international community¹⁰.

Despite global dispersion, individuals maintain kinship and associational ties across continents and institutional links between Goan associations are continually being developed. Links to the motherland have always been maintained but what is now needed is the transfer of skills and resources which Goans have acquired from working and living 'out' to Goa. This would be an important way in which the motherland could benefit from the loss of thousands of its people.

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GOAN NOSTALGIA

BY GEORGE MENEZES

Goans have a special identity. You can recognize them in any part of the world. People say that it is from their use of the word "*enh*" . . . a nasal explosive sound, something between a sneeze and a snort. In different degrees of emphasis and tone it can be used to denote incredulosity or contempt. Derision, disapproval, surprise and disagreement.

All Goans are conscious of their identity – Goan Catholics or Hindus . . . a sense of belonging to the soil . . . a belief that Goa is the very centre of the world, and those who do not belong to the soil are outsiders. For the Goans, going North is not going to Delhi or to the Arctic but to Bicholim. The taxi-driver returning from dropping people to their homes at Belgaum says he went to drop some "*Indians*".

For me the great joy is that this identity has led to the miracle that the Goan is a Goan first and a Hindu or Christian afterwards, resulting in a tolerance of each other's religions that has no parallel in the rest of India. In fact the only disappointment I have at this extraordinary Convention is what appears to me as the non-involvement of Hindu Goans.

But that is another matter. I am not here as a specialist. If Prof. George Moraes is here as a great historian and Olivinho Gomes as a great Konkani writer, I am here as the Great Lover. Like Elizabeth Barrett Browning, I'd like to say to Goa "*How do I love thee? Let me count the ways . . .*"

I love you for the fragrance of your flowers, for the flavour of your seafood, the refinement of your language, the benevolence of your rains, the serenity of your rivers, the grace of your women, the whiteness of your sands, the whiff of your caju blossoms and the tanginess of your cocum sauce. . . ."

With this let us start the Goan nostalgic journey with a story about a Goan glutton which is truly hilarious when told in Konkani but perhaps a trifle corny in English.

The Goan wedding buffet which is a feast for the senses is a ritual from which two types of people never recover. Those who pay for it and those who over-indulge in it . . . not to mention the chief cook gloriously drunk, whose perspiration pouring generously into the "*preparations*" together with vinegar, coconut juice and feni, give every dish a flavour unmatched even by the Romans in Nero's fiddling days.

At one such wedding the glutton who had over-indulged was feeling sick and confided this to his neighbour, who said to him "*Dukra, go into the garden and shove your finger down your throat and vomit to your heart's content*". "*You idiot*" said the glutton "*if I had space to put my finger down my throat I would have eaten another banana*".

This is not merely the story of a glutton of which there are plenty in every community, it is an introduction to Goa's indulgent way of life where "*enough is never enough*". Goa is a land where flowers grow in gay abundance and it does not require a

Woodsworth wandering "lonely as a cloud" to discover them. ASSAGÃO in Bardez has been immortalized by a "*dhulpod*"

Mari Concessão Mari Concessão

Assagão tuzo ganv

Bori Bori fullam haddtam hanv

Mogachea Mari Concessão

Then there is Mardol in Ponda famous for its luxuriance of scented jasmines. In a sparkling folksong, a dekhni, the dancing girl says to her Lord:

Xinvtim binvtim haddtolim

Matem borum malltolim

Majea pot'chea fuddean bostolim

Ai bostolim

But Goans don't say it with flowers, they say it with "*crackers*". Not the ones Canadians serve with cheese and crackers and onion dip at cocktail parties. Goans say it with fire crackers of the molotov cocktail variety.

The life of a Goan child begins with a bang and ends with a bang and not a whimper unless the crackers are unaccountably damp. Crackers have made newspapers and advertising agencies superfluous. They are the public announcements of private acts; the arrival of a child, for instance. Three packets of crackers for the arrival of a boy, two for a girl. Weddings, litanies, thread ceremonies, feasts, carnivals, bull fights, football victories or examination results . . . all begin and end with sound and smoke. The Goan "*foger*" is the maker of Goa's atom bomb. At feasts and vespers the village fireworks invariably end with the illuminated cock and hen drama where the latter lays an incandescent egg. "*Fog Marunk*", "*fogetti marunk*", metaphorically means wasting one's life and fortune on pomp and show.

Another typically Goan thing which is never enough is the "*ladainha*" or litany . . . kind of folk oratorio consisting of singing of hymns and prayers. Any excuse is good enough for a *ladainha*. The same kinds of excuses as for firing crackers . . . including excuses of the emigrant's return from abroad or leaving the boundaries of Goa for far flung places. The *ladainha* has five movements. The sign of the Cross in Konkani, the litany of Our Lady in Latin (*miserere nobis & agnus dei*) the Hail Holy Queen in Portuguese (*Salve Rainha*) a hymn to the Virgin also in Portuguese and finally a hymn to Holy Cross, Our Lady or favourite Saint in Konkani but nowadays also in English. The "*piece de resistance*" comes later in the form of mountains of boiled gram, gallons of feni, tinto and branco, coconut cubes, and jokes about boiled gram and breaking wind. The *ladainha* combined piety with good neighbourliness, since every villager was present. Goans obviously love their God and their neighbour with equal fervour.

In Goa everybody is addressed as "*Senhor Doutor*" (Hullo Mr. Doctor) massaging the ego of the recipient of the greeting and making way for the easy extraction of loans, favours and free advice

The story is told that Marilyn Monroe was travelling on a ship which had many Goan passengers. On the third day out at sea an announcement on the ship's system said "Miss Monroe has fainted in Cabin No. 46, Doctor urgently required". A doctor of medicine and a doctor of philosophy who rushed to her cabin discovered that not only had they been beaten to it by a Doctor of Divinity but every Goan passenger was also queueing at her door.

Real Goan doctors and professors have excelled not only in Goa but in the countries to which they have migrated. Better than the best in those lands. But the unqualified Goan is still called Professor or Doutor as Goa clings to the tinsel glory of its feudal past . . . symptomatic of pomposness in speech and action and a make-believe world of mental inflation. Overstatement is a part of the Goan character, antique and rococo like the wood work of Goan church altars. It was this type of a linguistic fiction that led to the transformation of a district (size 1394 sq. miles) into an overseas province of Portugal's colonial empire.

The Goan as a braggart has no equal. You will find him in the home-returning musician, shippie, cook or even Manager, ordering a round of drinks at a Taverna Licenciada. The shippie who claims he has made love to a mermaid testified by an entry in the ship's log book; the musician who tells how the Japanese dropped bombs over Burma and how he saved Rangoon single-handedly by climbing a coconut tree and catching the falling bomb in his own Goan hands and throwing them back at the enemy.

My best story is of course about the Goan cooks in a British infantry regiment. I told this story to a gathering of two hundred thousand Catholics, at which I spoke. They were gathered after a long march at Bombay's Cross Maidan to condemn the attacks against Catholic churches and convents and the attempts to curb the community's constitutional rights.

The story goes that the British regiment in which Goans served as cooks was on the run. Defeat upon defeat. A last-ditch stand was required. All hands to the pump, kind of thing. The cooks picked up their carving knives and went into battle. At some stage the commander gave the order to retreat and shouted "Cast your swords and run". "What is he saying?" asked the assistant cook. "He is saying" said the chief cook, "Kashti sodd ani daun" . . . loosen your kashtis and run.

Every Goan village has its quota of village idiots and village drunks mostly from well to do, respectable and once respected families. Goans shower a gentle love on them, they are helped to lead as well-integrated lives in the society in which they live as the matchmaker, the village gossip, the pig slaughterer, and the sacristan.

There is a story told of the village idiot who was christened João Merde (John Shit) as a result of his father's flying into a rage at the baptismal font. Naturally he was the butt of many jokes. Fed up, he decided to do something about it. He decided to change his name. He visited the registrar in Panjim and came back with an angelic smile on his face to tell his friends that since they did not like his name he had changed his name from Joao Merde to Antonio Merde.

Unlike the idiot who sits in the verandah/balcão of his house, his quiet mouth sometimes frothing at the edges, the village drunk is mobile and vocal. He goes from home to home dispensing philosophy and starts a shouting match with the Vicar during his long Sunday sermon, egged on and encouraged by the young and irreverent members of the congregation. In one incident during my childhood days, Caetano Jose our village drunk, during an open air service, climbed on the Church steeple .. and yes, pissed on the people.

There is something about Goan drinking that is worth recording this evening. A Goan seldom gets drunk although there are some drunks in every village. Unlike Indian tourists in Goa who mix beer with rum and drink to get a quick kick – which they deserve in the seat of their pants – for the Goan, alcohol is something that gives zest to the whole being. A kind of tonic of the soul. It brings rainbows into his conversation, nightingales into his singing and magic into everything he does.

Coming back to Caetan Jose, when he did not climb on the Church steeple he was the best story teller a child could ever have.

The Goan story-teller has no equal whether it be the village drunk, the "poskem" or one's grandmother. I can see the whole thing quite clearly now. The old lady, her hair tied up in a towel after bath, rocking to the tick-tock of the grandfather clock, with the little boy, mouth open, dreamy-eyed, listening in wonder to the cascade of words. Giant words, little baby words, angel words and devil words, cashew coloured, mango-flavoured words... weaving out of the quiet dusk a many splendoured fabric he would wear down the years to fatherhood and grandfatherhood.

Unfortunately the new Goan generation in India and elsewhere have lost touch with Konkani and are unable to share the richness of stories which have phrases like "*ghor mennachem ani ghor shennachem*" or "*tut kun tutlem*" and "*phut kun phutlem*" requiring prosaic translations like "*house of wax and house of dung*" or "*it broke*" and "*it broke*". In addition to the proverbial fox and his bag-of-tricks stories including a fox who

got a state funeral – Goan tales are dominated by the devil in a variety of forms, by the Ranés and their princesses, by Rakshasas, wicked stepmothers, and by families who had difficulties in finding suitors for their many daughters.

One well known story tells of a desperate father who offered Rs. 3000/- dowry for his eldest daughter whom everybody knew was a little lame, Rs. 5000/- for the second daughter whom everybody could see was a little cockeyed and ten thousand rupees, inexplicably, for the youngest and the prettiest whom the suitor later discovered was a little pregnant. She has the devil's seed in her, it was explained.

The son-in-law has a very special place in Goan folk tales as he has even today in Goan life. You find him in broad daylight sitting in the *balcão* in his brand new night suit, a traditional gift from the mother-in-law, being vigorously fanned by a variety of female relatives despite the fact that this hot-and-bothered guy spends his working life shovelling coal into the furnaces of a ship in which he works as a seaman.

The son-in-law in Goa who occupies a higher position than even the eldest son and for whom the fatted pig is reserved, belongs to the people.. *amcho zavuim* ... our son-in-law, as he is called. Freud must have had an explanation for this phenomena where Mrs. Fernandes's son-in-law is also the son-in-law of Mrs. D'Souza, Mrs. Lobo and Mrs. Pinto.

On the feast of St. John (San João) that is the 24th of June when the ancient fertility rights of fire and water find a new expression in the celebration of Midsummer's day, the mother-in-law has to offer a special tray full of fruits – mangoes, jackfruit, guavas and plantains (bananas), in honour of her new son-in-law, to the men in the village who go from house to house crowned with flowers and leaves and jump into the well of every household.

While he is a privileged person in the mother-in-law's home, jealousy has resulted in his becoming the butt of jokes, in folklore. He is depicted as bumptious, ignorant, stupid and greedy. The mother-in-law's God has indeed feet of clay.

One of the most popular pieces I wrote on Goa which has been included in my book "One sip at a Time", is about a son-in-law fresh from Kuwait, small gold tooth, large gold ring, pointed patent leather shoes, and fully suited in the sizzling temperatures of the month of May, who is crossing the ferry from Old Goa to the Island of Divar which houses his ancestral home.

The wife and mother-in-law have come to receive him at Old Goa and are fluttering and cooing around him like nervous Florence Nightingales as he sits on the shady bench of the ferry boat. The boat takes off and turns around, exposing the son-in-law to the hot midday sun. Anxious to provide him with shade, the mother-in-law presses the button of the newly imported automatic umbrella. The umbrella jumps open in the face of the son-in-law, one of its spokes sending the son-in-law's secretly-acquired wig catapulting into the salty waters of the Mandovi river. While the son-in-law hides his billiard-bald-head in the recesses of the engine room, the ferry boat changes course with the rude and scoffing passengers getting their ten paise worth of fun fishing the wet and messy wig from a watery grave.

If sons-in-law are the butt of jokes in fiction, the village vicar is the butt of jokes in fact. Many old-time Vicars are sweaty characters dragging their cassocks through the muddy village streets. There was one I am told who used to insist in Lent in taking on the real life role of Jesus Christ, dramatically carrying a Cross made of teak wood on his shoulder from our village chapel up the hill to the Church. The whole Parish followed him and helped him in his stumblings till he collapsed at the door of the Church with Jesus' last words on his lips. "*Consumatum est, somplem sogglem, bavando, somplem soglem*". All is finished, all is consumed my beloved brethren, all is consumed." And the Sacristan would whisper in his ears, "*All is not consumed, Padre Vicar there is some still left in the white bottle.*" The resultant smile on the Vicar's face after the carrying of the Cross always remained an enigma to his illiterate parishioners until the Vicar grew old and deaf and the Sacristan had no choice but to shout the information for all to hear. While some Vicars dramatise their piety and holiness, most others specialise in sermons long enough for the

parishioners who live close to the Church to dash off for a quick one.

One such Vicar they say, was waxing eloquent on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Goa. "What place shall we give to St. Francis in the litany of Saints? What place shall we give him in the galaxy of stars in heaven; What place shall we give him in the bloodied scroll of Martyrs for the Faith?" An old woman who was getting fed up got up and said "Vicar please give him my place, I am going home to put the rice pot on the fire".

Whatever one may say of village Vicars, the fact remains that the Goan clergy have contributed a great deal to Goan scholarship, education and interestingly to both religious and secular music. It is therefore appropriate at this stage that I speak about the most Goan of Goan things – the Mando. The Mando, a unique creation of the Goan musical genius is in refinement and pattern, most completely satisfying. It is indigenous in character with a unique blend of the Portuguese and Goan elements. In the plaintive tone, in the use of the minor mode, in the style of singing in two voices, the influence of Church music is evident. What is interesting is that in spite of the influence of Western language and music, the genius of the Goan could not find its fullest expression through the media of a foreign language and foreign music. There is not greater testimony of the Goanness or Goanity of Goans than the Mando. If the miraculous polarisation of the apparently discordant, incongruous, irreconcilable vibrations of East and West is not aurally understood, it can at least be visually symbolised by the combination of the Gumott and the Violin, the traditional accompaniment of the Mando. The Genius of the Mando is not only in its music but in the poetic beauty of its romantic lyrics. I take pride in remembering that one of the popular Mandos of Goa was composed and written by my grandfather, it is called "Sonvsar charuch're discancho".

There is no truly Goan occasion in India or abroad where the Mando is not sung, tugging at our heart strings, wrapping singers and listeners alike in a warm tearful blanket of sentimentality . . . broken by the quickening beat and playful lyrics of the dulpod . . . a spirited challenging dialogue between dancers and singers and between the dancers themselves. For after all the Mando is not only music and lyrics, it is also a dance . . . where beginning with a sullen, aristocratic demeanour, the movement becomes provocative and sensual, what with the male dancers producing a Kashti from their pockets, followed by the spirited beat of the dulpod and ending with the hip-shaking wrist-twisting tribal frenzy of the dekhni.

There are no modern Mandos, alas, just as there are no modern Viennese waltzes I guess. But like the late Lucio Rodrigues, an authority on Goan Folk music and like many other Goans, I believe the Mando must not be allowed to die. For if there is one thing that unites Goans spread all over the world, it is the Mando more than anything else... It could in my estimation be the sole vehicle by which the younger generation of Goans in Canada, the U.S.A., Europe, Australia, U.K. and on Mars could keep in touch with their roots.

It would take modern Goan composers, like it took Ralph Vaughan Williams, to take the seeds of the Mando and produce from it music that will be Goan, Indian and Universal. Let me say to our young Canadians, "You can take the boy out of the country but can you take the country out of the boy?" For what doth it profit a man if he gains the whole world but suffers the loss of his own ethnic soul?

I have in this half hour enabled you to savour some very Goan things – crackers, litanies, pompous titles, braggarts, story tellers, village idiots, drunks, sons in law, village vicars and music. Having started with crackers I will end with crack pots. The lovely people of Moira. Like we have Sardarjis, Irishmen, Poles and Jews, we also have Moiddekars. Whatever legend may say, the Moiddekars are not really crack-pots. They are wise people who have allowed the thin dividing line between wisdom and folly to get blurred, making Goans forget that the people of Moira are indeed a very industrious people using their fertile land not to produce only Guinness-Book-Size bananas but an abundance of rice, chillies and vegetables.

If we hear people saying "*Sarkoch Moiddekar*" or "*Moiddekar mure tum*", it is because like the wise fools of Gotham the people of Moira in their utter simplicity allow their wisdom to be "*foolishly illogical*".

This is best illustrated by the story of Moira villagers who needed a taller, bigger church and decided to dig a trench around it and put manure in the pit in the belief that if manuring helps trees grow taller and bigger, it would also help the Church to grow bigger. Or, the villagers who wanted to send a basket of mangoes to their Raja, so each villager brought a few of the best from his crop. "How do we know they are sweet" they asked themselves. "The most colourful ones are sometimes the sourest". So they took a teeny weeny bite of every mango and put only the sweetest into the basket for the Raja's gift.

The classic story from Moira however, is the more modern one and concerns two returned emigrants Salu and Pedru. Salu who was from Aldona invited Pedru from Moira to attend the Aldona Church feast which Salu was celebrating with proverbial pomp with his hard-earned Gulf money. During the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, Pedru was astounded to find that the Celebrant and the entire congregation was singing a hymn in honour of Salu, namely, "*O SALUTARIS*". Pedru went back to Moira determined to celebrate his village feast with equal, if not added, grandeur. When the celebrant and congregation again sang "*O SALUTARIS*" and not "*O PEDRUTARIS*" he was furious, wanted his money back and never talked to Salu again.

"The lunatic, the lover and the poet are of imagination all compact", Shakespeare would have said dusting the Moira or Benaulim mud from his silver buckled shoes. It is this combination that gives Goa and Goans its unique flavour recognizable in any part of the globe.

And it is as the madman hanging on to what-has-been, as a lover of all things Goan and as an aspiring but failed poet that I ask you this evening to reach out and touch somebody's Goan hand as I take you down memory lane.

The year is 1948. The month April .. to T.S. Elliot "the cruellest month breeding lilacs out of the dead land; mixing memory and desire, stirring dull roots with spring rain." The British have left and the new fires of freedom are warming the cockles of the hearts of 500 million Indians. On a tiny pimple on the face of the sub-continent, the Portuguese flag still flies over the palace of the "*Governador*", laughing at the winds of change.

Several thousands of Goans living in Bombay and other parts of India are packing their tin trunks and canvas holdalls to make their one month's summer pilgrimage from a vague, confusing freedom to an accustomed, joyous captivity, as if nothing has happened, nothing has changed.

In the first days of May, hundreds of families will be united in the first of many sweaty "*abraços*" as they wind their way to their villages from the ship's jetty at Panaji or the railway stations at Collem, Margão and Vasco da Gama. It is the time for feasts and matchmaking, for weddings and funerals. It is the month of nostalgia, the month of many juices. Everything flows. Rivers, gastric juices, sweat, tears of joy and sorrow. Wine flows into goblets, mango juice flows down the chin, caju juice over shirt fronts, while on beaches and hills girls are serenaded to the sounds of a million guitars.

You could come by ship, as most people did. Cooped up in a few cabins or crowded on the deck of a tinpot vessel that took twenty-four hours from Bombay to Panaji, a kaleidoscope of card players, music lovers and over-the-railing spewers that suddenly jelled together into an explosion of hosannas and alleluias as the ship chugged its way round the tip of Fort Aguada into the estuary of the Indian Ocean and Mandovi River like fugitives arriving at the shore of the promised land.

Others came by train, changing from broad gauge to metre gauge at a station called Londa and then again to the Portuguese Railway at Castlerock, chit-chatting with ruddy complexioned gregarious Portuguese Customs Officers. Relaxed and carefree since nothing dutiable was ever worth bringing from India into Goa. Soon, an all-pervading

aroma of alcohol surrounded the train while passengers sipped away duty-free wines. A dry 'tinto' or sweeter 'branco' or some excellent Dutch or Danish beer. The veterans, on the other hand, drank a brandy called Maciera. They drank it, for some inexplicable reason, with soda as if it was another kind of Scotch. Such blasphemous treatment of brandy would have made Frenchmen weep tears of garlic.

For most people the bus trip from the Railway Station of Collem to Mapuca or from Margao to Panaji was the most exciting part of the long journey. The bus service or 'carreira' was and still is an integral part of the Goan character. The service had two aims. One was to frighten the emigrant visitors out of their wits by employing, what in retrospect appears to be, demented astronauts as drivers. They drove the buses at hair-raising speeds across narrow, winding roads to watery graves. Yet, no one was frightened out of their wits because Goans left their wits behind when they embarked on their summer pilgrimage to their fatherland. Or so we joked. The second objective was to prove that two things could occupy the same place at the same time on a Goan "carreira". "Mache, bab, mache" (just a wee little squeeze) to accommodate sixty people in a thirty-seater vehicle.

When the buses unloaded their pulp of passengers on river-fronts, ferries were crossed by motorised boats or paddled canoes and from village jetties the procession of arrivals trudged their baggage-laden way to their homes, the red-mud roads raising a cloud of rose-tinted dust.

Our family seldom came by rail or sea. We love the road and we came by car, the radiator fuming and stuttering on the Ghat Section like a frustrated, angry politician. The last cajus dangled their colourful heads on the slopes of Mollem and the fragrance of mangoes and betel nuts exciting our senses as we stopped the old Austin at Ponda. While the family made a beeline for tender coconuts, I stretched my legs on the verandah of a Taverna Licenciada and downed, what Keats called, a beakerful of the warm South.. the true, the blushful Hippocrene with beaded bubbles winking at the brim".

But to come back to the emigrants' arrival. In innumerable homes in innumerable villages, preparations are being made to receive the returning relatives. Courtyards have been swept, "balcões" whitewashed, family altars cleansed of the cobwebs and crocheted altar-cloths and tea-cosies brought out for ironing, from Macão camphor-wood chests, several generations old. The fattened sow which will provide the basic meal for several weeks has been caught after a village-chase that would put Spanish bull fiestas in the shade. Every portion of the meat, every single drop of blood will be used for a variety of dishes that is a temptation even to the Gods. Roast pork, the dark skin crackling like autumn leaves; sorpotel, pieces of meat cooked in a witches' cauldron of blood, vinegar and spices; tripe, from several miles of intestines, that is heavy-going except for those with blocked sinuses.

In shady, bird-orchestrated orchards tender coconuts will be plucked for mouth-watering delicacies like 'letria' and 'aranha'; while the finest distillation from the caju-apple transformed into an elixir called Feni will be stored in earthenware jars. In the interest of trust let it be recorded that caju feni which today is the 'in' thing to sip in aristocratic circles, was never touched by the descendants of the 'boas families' who stuck to Port, Tinto and Branco.

At the appointed hour crackers will be lit resembling the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, while glasses of 'sangria' (chilled sweet wine with soda) will be doled out from punch bowls to everyone, including babes in arms. The first of many reunions has begun.

I cannot think of reunions without thinking of sorpotel, and our attachment to it is best described in a poem by Philip Furtado.

For the hotch-potch known as haggis
Let Scotchmen yearn or yell
On the taste of Yorkshire pudding
Let the English fondly dwell
Their famed tandoori chicken

Let Punjabis praise like hell
But for us who hail from Goa
There's naught like sorpotel
From our bigwigs in Colaba
To our small fry in Parel
From our growing tribe in Bandra
To our remnants in Cavel
From the working girls in Glaxo
To our boys in Burmah Shell
There's none whose mouth won't water
When you talk of Sorpotel!

I think of the time when my little son going to Goa from a flat in Bombay said that he liked Goa because there was an "outside" there. I think of a five rupee hen that escaped the cook's slaughtering hand and had to be chased all around the village by the people and finally cost my father 50 rupees in broken tiles, damaged fences and the sweets for the village kids who undertook the obstacle race, before we could get the creature into the cooking pot.

I think of compulsory rosaries that were a cure for insomnia, each decade interrupted with enquiries about whether the pig had been fed, the goats had been tied and the fowls brought indoors for the night.

I think of the evening of my grandmother's funeral when I watched a dog peeing carefully on my grandfather's tombstone and I recall drunken friends and relatives after the funeral emptying their bladders into Macau porcelain pisspots and sleeping on mats from one end of the room to the other, and someone, I think it was me, coming home a little late hitting his foot against the pisspot spreading its fermenting contents on the sleepers, and causing havoc and strained relationships in the darkened night.

I think of our "mundcars" Govind and Mukund and their hardworking wives Laxmi and Baby who stole our mangoes and our paddy and finally stole, or rather became the legal cultivators – owners – of our fields. Who, in spite of making noises about exploiting *batkars* or "feudal landlords" never, never, even today, enter our home except through the back door, sit on their haunches and tell us their tales of woe.

I think of Mafaldinha, a domestic servant who had more aristocratic blood than the people she worked for and used Portuguese words like "lata" for "tin" or "can" and when she moved with us briefly to Bombay almost got beaten up because she told the *jari puranawala*, or "rag man" to whom she wanted to sell some empty tins, "hum tumko ek lat deyenga".

I think of my great-grandmother's three coloured servants – legacies from the romantic peccadillos of Portuguese soldiers from African colonies who were called João, Bostião and Lampião. One day my great-grandmother wanted them to go to Panjim at the crack of dawn, 15 miles away and across the ferry to get the monthly provisions. "Fallem Ponje vosunk zai", "tomorrow you have to go to Panjim", she said. When tomorrow came João was so dead drunk that not even my great-grandfather's shotgun was able to wake him up. The second, Bostião, left for Panjim, stopped at the bar, had a couple of quick ones, chased the farmer's daughter through the rice fields, picked up a fight with the boatman at the ferry and landed himself in the lock-up. But Lampião takes the cake. When my great-grandmother found him sleeping under the coconut tree she discovered that he had already, in complete obedience, gone to Panjim and come back without bothering to find out what was needed to be done.

I think of the times when old ink-bottles were filled with kerosene and used for lamps; when water was drawn from wells; when people had the capacity to laugh at the most idiotic things. My heart aches for the all-night dances in private aristocratic homes to the music of Johnson's band, of unspoilt yatra's at Assonora, of sail boats that took us from Panjim to our island of Divar, the backwaters of the Mandovi river licking its salty tongue on the blonde fuzz of ripening paddy fields, the peaceful whole-day shopping in

the markets at Mapuça for brooms, '*gurgulettas*' (earthenware water pots that were shaped like roosters) and '*khotkhotem*' a delicious stick-jaw toffee made of coconut jaggery, ginger and peanuts that made consumers of the stuff look like puppets in a ventriloquist's show and above all, domestic servants who sat in the '*bolcões*' and day after day told us tales that would put the '*Arabian Nights*' in the shade. Tales of haunted houses and of homes that had a curse on them because '*pensão*' or promises that were made had not been kept. The stories were always accompanied by the tending of wounds of the naughty boys in the family and the shedding of lice from the beautiful, long, black hair of the girls.

Those times are gone. And Goa, my beloved of these many years, has changed. We no longer come in May. We are not prepared to rub shoulders at the ferries and at the '*tinto*' with some hundreds of nice guys whose company we fled in Bombay. We are not prepared to be jostled and pushed around in the market for a handful of loaves and fishes. We cannot share our loved one with the countless faceless people who throng the beaches of Calangute on the weekend, hiding the sand, the sea and even the stars from our view.

Even the hippies, the new Goan phenomenon, move away, those gentle flower children, their vacant eyes pained at the blare of loudspeakers, at the sight of noisy, giant wheels on the sands, resentful at the disturbances of their solitude.

And so we come in October promising ourselves peace and quiet, like the hippies whom we condemn, in search of our own God.

Yes, the ancestral house is still there, propped up, hanging on miraculously, like a strapless evening gown. The Victorian beds are bug-ridden, the wells fouled up with leaves, unusable when newly-installed tap water fails, the oil lamps with cracked glass chimneys no longer traceable when electricity shuts off suddenly without notice. There is no fish available in a village surrounded on all sides by the river. The five-star hotels have taken it away at astronomical prices just as they have taken away every inch of our beaches.

Yet, my beloved is beautiful. The water in the well of a neighbour who has no tap connection is as fresh as the morning dew. He invites us to partake of its abundant source. The family who have rented the '*manos*' (sluice gates) has a son working in our factory. "Bab", he says, "tuca nishtem ami dinant zalear konank ditle?" (If we don't give you fish, whom shall we give it to?) The discomforts of modernisation are forgotten as we walk across the hills down to the fields near the river, tracing the boundaries of the land that once belonged to our forefathers and is now ours. We kneel down and kiss the red soil for there is nothing like a piece of earth, however small, that a man can call his own.

October is harvest time, the ripened corn like a concelebration of priests in golden vestments raise their arms heavenwards, an offering to a God who gave this land so large a measure of warmth and beauty . . . so large a measure of His Love.

I start to experience a truly Goan experience. It is called "*sucego*" and is untranslatable into any other language. It is often mistaken by non-Goans for procrastination or the manana experience. It is far from it. "*Sucego*" is a state of being suspended in space, a kind of doing nothingness, a blessed blissfulness that cannot be described, only experienced. To do so, you must be a true Goan, you must have the tanginess of vindaloo in the marrow of your bones, the sweet goodness of caju feni flowing through your veins and the warm waters of Goan rivers on your brain.

There is a well-known story which I believe aptly explains the meaning of "*susegado*". It goes like this. It appears that JRD Tata, who was a friend of my father, once visited our island-village of Divar. Walking around the village on his own, he saw a well-built young man leaning against a tree, his fishing rod dangling in the river, a straw hat over his eyes and a bottle of feni by his side. "Young man", said JRD, "if instead of spending the whole day lying under this tree you were to come to Bombay, I could give you a job in one of my factories". "I see" said the young man "and what will be the

result?" "If you work hard, you will be promoted and if you continue in that fashion, you will one day become, perhaps, a Manager or Director and earn a lot of money". "I see" said the young man, "and what will happen after that?" And JRD replied, "you will be sufficiently well-off to retire and lead a quiet, healthy, idle life". And the young man replied, "but that is exactly what I am doing right now".

I cannot end this speech without touching on the great heartache of the Goan exile. The difficulty to resolve or live with tension between the lovely ever-changing mistress that Goa is and the equally beautiful and necessary wives we have married and have chosen permanently. It is expressed beautifully by a mock-epic, my father, Prof. Armando Menezes, an illustrious Goan and a great poet wrote in 1933 when he left Goa to make Bombay his home.

"Our tastes differ" said I, "I love to lie
And scarcely feel the river flowing by
To smell the ancient smell of earth so sweet
To hear the wavelets lapping at my feet
I love to row or drift upon the tide
To run to meet the moonlight as a bride
To gaze upon the sky and know it's mine
To quaff the flush of sunset as a wine
I love the sight of children, trees and herds
The song of churchbells and the song of birds.

All this just for a day . . . a week at best
The mind new pastures seeks chafes at its rest
And tho' I tire of Bombay nonetheless
I feel in Goa endless weariness
It's odd I know; and so is humankind!
I love the touch of books, the clash of mind
The many coloured swiftly changing life
Unrolling morn and eve . . . the race the strife
The deep pulsation of humanity
You'd call it a fever, well it's joy to me".

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POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN GOA

BY PROF. ARTHUR RUBINOFF

Goa's unique cultural, ethnic, and linguistic background, the result of 450 years of Portuguese rule and its relatively recent incorporation into the Indian Union make the area a significant test for integration theory. This study is an examination of New Delhi's attempts to promote national identity in Goa since India's military forces territorially integrated the former Portuguese possession in December, 1961. After examining Goa's incorporation into the Indian Union, it analyzes the problems of transition and the response of Goan ethnic and social groups to the process of integration. Specifically, it focuses on attempts of neighbouring states to absorb the union territory, electoral behaviour, the evolution of political parties, and the quest for statehood which culminated on May 30, 1987 when Goa became India's 25th State. It concludes with an assessment of the impact that integration with India has had on the former Portuguese territories on the subcontinent.

Patterns of Integration Before 1961

Goa's political insularity from the rest of India stems from the condition that the European power which occupied the colony in 1510 was Portugal. The former Portuguese territories on the subcontinent were originally conquered from the Bijapur sultanate by Alfonso de Albuquerque as part of Lisbon's attempt to establish strategic points for commercial purposes on the west coast of India. Portuguese writers allege that since Goans had been subjected to cruel treatment and high taxation by Muslim rulers, the predominantly Hindu inhabitants were initially receptive to European rule. After surrounding coastal territories known as the Old Conquests were added, the Catholic church embarked on a policy of forced conversions and destruction of Hindu temples. The attempt to coerce neighbouring people into recognizing Portuguese suzerainty encountered fierce resistance from the Marathas. Competition from the Dutch and the British in the seventeenth century further curbed Portuguese attempts to expand its empire in Asia. Ultimately the Portuguese were able to retain their footholds in India only with the sympathetic permission of the British. As a result, additional territories, known as the New Conquests, were not added until there was a reorganization of the subcontinent by the European colonial power in the period 1782-1791. The possessions that remained in Portuguese hands were a lush but economically depressed colony that suffered from a shortage of foodstuffs and lacked adequate educational and transportation systems.

By 1954 about 1,500 square miles of India, with a population of 638,000, remained under Portuguese control. These Portuguese territories were divided into three main

districts – Goa, Daman and Diu. Located on India's west coast two hundred fifty miles south-east of Bombay, Goa had an area of 1,301 square miles and a population of 548,000. Daman, which had been captured by the Portuguese in 1559, consisted of three enclaves in Gujarat state, one hundred miles north of Bombay. Its 214 square miles contained a population of 69,000 with 40,500 people residing in the two enclaves of Nagar Haveli and Dadra which were separated by a narrow strip of Indian territory. Diu, conquered in 1546, was an island of 20 square miles with a population of 21,000 which was located off the coast of the Kathiawar Peninsula north of Daman. Collectively these territories were called Goa and their principal city Panjim was designated the capital of Portuguese India.

The vast majority of Goans were linked racially, culturally and linguistically to the inhabitants of the Indian Union which had received its independence from the British in 1947. Racially, nearly all were of Indian stock. While many Goans had Portuguese surnames, their circumstance resulted from the fact they took Christian names on conversion, not because they were descendants of Portuguese settlers. Thus, the social structure of the Christian community is heirarchical along Hindu lines because converts carried their caste differences into their adopted religion. In the 1950's 388,488 or 60.9% of the residents of Goa were Hindus; 234,292 or 36.8% were Christians, nearly all of these being Catholics residing in the coastal section of the Old Conquests; and 14,162 or 2.2% were Muslims. Konkani was the most important language employed in Goa, as 95.8% of the people declared it to be their native tongue, although Catholics employed Roman script and Hindus preferred Devanagari. In Daman and Diu, Gujarati was the principal language. Despite the fact that only 3% of the people spoke or understood Portuguese, it was the official language of the colonies. The preference for indigenous languages over Portuguese reflects Lisbon's failure to assimilate the Goans.

Economically Goa was linked to India rather than to Portugal. To some extent this was a reflection of geography for Goa was connected by road and rail to India, while Portugal could only be reached by ship and airplane. In any event, Goa exported very little to Portugal, as trade with the mother country amounted to only 7.67% of the total volume. A further breakdown reveals the incredibly low figures of 0.5% trade exported to Portugal and less than 10% imported from the mother country. The adverse balance of trade increased from Rs. 2.44 crores in 1946 to Rs. 6.30 crores in 1951, necessitating significant subsidies from Portugal. Despite the fact that in later years iron and manganese mines, developed with foreign capital, produced significant financial reserves, Goa, as Dr. Oliveira Salazar, the Portuguese Prime Minister admitted, continued to drain on Lisbon's treasury. As the possibility of Indian invasion grew in the 1950's Portuguese incentives to develop the colony declined. As a consequence, the transportation system remained primitive and needed roads and bridges remained unconstructed.

While Portugal was unable to afford to develop Goa economically, it attempted to stifle the colony's natural economic links with British India by imposing tariffs upon needed rice shipments. Retaliatory customs duties on products from Goa, by the British, damaged indigenous agricultural industries such as coconut production. These measures caused a steady fall in trade from a 1929 figure of 72% of all of Goa's imports coming from British India. After independence the Indian Union accounted for about 20% of Goa's exports and over 40% of its imports. The economic dependence of Goa on India is evidenced by the fact that Indian currency constituted almost two-thirds of all monies in circulation in the Portuguese colony. As a result of an attempt by Portuguese authorities to ban the circulation of Indian currency from 1942-1952, Goans were obliged to resort to barter transactions, live on starvation rations or emigrate.

To secure employment and education opportunities denied them at home, Goans – particularly males from the densely populated Old Conquests – left the colony. Many served as civil servants in the Portuguese or British colonial empires, but 150,000 lived in India – 100,000 in the Bombay area alone. Their emigration stabilized the population, while their remittances served to improve conditions at home.

Another device employed by Goans to make up their shortage of currency was smuggling. Expensive luxury items like silks, fountain pens, liquor, precious metals and stones were imported from abroad and systematically shipped illegally across the border into India without payment of custom duties.

While there were ties to the subcontinent in many respects, the Goans, nonetheless, remained politically isolated from India. Unlike the situation in British India where Congress politicians gained valuable legislative experience from 1937-1939, the establishment of meaningful politics in Goa came only after incorporation into the Indian Union by Indian armed forces in December 19, 1961. Prior to that time, the political and administrative systems of Goa reflected the undemocratic institutions of fascist Portugal. There was only one party on the ballot and restrictions on suffrage and civil liberties, including censorship, were imposed. Illegal political activity was punished by a long prison sentence, or exile to Portugal or one of Lisbon's African colonies.

Despite the efforts of the Portuguese to stifle political activity in Goa, a myriad of groups such as the National Congress and the Azad Gomantak Dal worked in uncoordinated fashion to expel them from the colony. Goan activists, many of whom were educated or employed in the Indian cities of Bombay, Poona, or Benares, associated themselves with the Indian National Congress in its struggle to rid the subcontinent of foreign rule. However, beyond passing resolutions, the nationalist movement had negligible interest in expelling the Portuguese. For his part, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who took office in 1949 was preoccupied with the partition of the country with Pakistan and related issues like the Kashmir dispute. After the British left the subcontinent, Nehru then turned his attention to convincing the French to depart Pondicherry, which they did in 1956.

The problem of incorporating the Portuguese colonies was largely ignored during the initial years of India's independence. In the meantime, the existing political differences and cultural similarities between the Goans and the Indians made their status in India ambiguous. Because they had the right to engage in political activities, opposition parties attempted to capitalize on the disenchantment Goans resident in India felt over the failure of Nehru government to oust the Portuguese. In response to the lack of interest shown in their cause by the Indian National Congress, the Goan revolutionaries turned to prominent Indian socialists for support in their struggle against Lisbon. Most notable among these efforts was a demonstration organized in the south Goan city of Margao on June 18, 1946, by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. When the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were overrun by the nationalist-communal oriented Jan Sangh and leftwing Goan People's Party in July, 1954, the Nehru government maintained it had no knowledge of the development until after the events. While the Indian government refused to permit Portuguese reinforcements to reach the besieged garrisons, it declined to use the incident as a pretext to invade Lisbon's remaining territories on the subcontinent. When satyagraha campaigns led by Praja Socialist Party leaders in 1954 and 1955 elicited a repressive Portuguese reaction, on each occasion the Nehru government again refused to intervene. As I documented in my book *India's Use of Force in Goa* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1971), when Nehru finally decided to employ the military to expel the Portuguese in December, 1961, it was primarily in response to African rather than either Goan or domestic political pressure.

Problems of Transition

Even though India took only two days to militarily overrun the Portuguese possessions, New Delhi was not at the time prepared to administer them. The enduring inefficiency and declining standard of living the former colonies endured actually inhibited their integration. The Nehru government, sensitive to charges that it was

replacing one type of imperialism with another, proceeded cautiously. Military rule, designed to restore normal life and communications in the liberated territories, lasted six months. In the meantime Parliament conferred union territory status on Goa and provided for its representation in New Delhi. Panchayat elections were held in October, 1962 and a legislature consisting of 30 members was established the next year. Nevertheless, the expansion of political freedom was accompanied by a considerable number of economic and administrative difficulties. Among the hardships that materialized were those that resulted from the shift in legal systems and the language of government. The importation of deputized civil servants from neighbouring Indian states was particularly resented by the local populace. However, the most serious situation in this period was the decline in the standard of living for the average Goan. Prior to annexation, salaries had been higher and prices lower than was the case in the Indian Union. As Goa had been a centre of smuggling activity before 1961, foreign goods had been accessible and cheap. Incorporation into India resulted in a price rise of between 30%-50% on most items and scarcities of what had come to be regarded as essential commodities. It also meant the gradual imposition of Indian taxes and liquor laws.

The Merger Issues

The territorial integration of Goa, Daman and Diu did not resolve the status of the former Portuguese colonies in India. Goa's future situation now became the principal issue to dominate politics after the departure of Portugal. Three possible options – independence, Union Territory status and statehood – presented themselves. Significantly, reaction to these alternatives polarized along communal lines.

Given what they claimed were distinctive historical, social and cultural patterns, some Goans made a futile plea for independence before the United Nations, while others unsuccessfully challenged Indian sovereignty in the courts. As a result of these developments, the successful integration of the Christian community was of special concern to the Indian government. As far back as 1954 Prime Minister Nehru – a life long advocate of a secular state – had sought to reassure Goan Christians that their right to practise their religion would be guaranteed under the Indian constitution. Even before its incorporation into the Indian Union, Nehru had committed his country to respect Goan autonomy, and in his only visit to the former Portuguese colonies after liberation, Nehru recognized Goa's "distinctive personality" which he felt entitled it to remain a "separate entity" within India's federal system. Significantly, in moving the bill which gave Goa Union Territory status on March 14, 1962, Nehru pledged that India would maintain the area's "separate identity" which he asserted had evolved through 400 years of history. While statehood was deemed out of the question until integration was assured through economic assistance provided by the centre, the Government of India indicated that it did not prefer to see Goa absorbed into a neighbouring state so soon after its conquest.

Nevertheless, both Maharashtra and Mysore, already in dispute over Belgaum, embarked on a campaign to digest Goa, which was economically much more prosperous than their respective border areas. Many Hindu Goans supported these endeavours, for they regarded merger with an adjoining state to be an effective means of promoting national integration. They considered Portuguese rule to be an accident of history and denied that Goans were in any way distinguished from people in neighbouring states. As many freedom-fighters had operated from Maharashtra in the pre-liberation period, they shared a desire to see Goa as distinct in that state.

The merger proposal became the principal issue of the 1963 elections. By March of that year, advocates of merger founded the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party whose "object (was) the integration of Goa into the state of Maharashtra". The organization further believed "the language of Goans is Marathi and (claimed) Konkani is a dialect of

Marathi". It also considered Goa to be "historically and geographically, culturally and economically, part and parcel of Maharashtra." In reaction, the primarily Konkani speaking Christian minority, which had dominated the colony under the Portuguese, founded the United Goans Party to prevent the dilution of their community's distinct culture.

Despite the evident political activity that was transpiring in Goa, the Congress Party, confident that it would sweep the polls in the territory's first general elections as had been the case elsewhere in India, waited until September, 1962 to organize. Although the Congress was without historical roots in Goa, the party still expected to capitalize on post-liberation sentiment as it had done throughout British India. Yet, by stressing its all-India identity, the Congress instead bore the brunt of the problems associated with transition and experience an inevitable backlash. Although a victim of circumstances with regard to these matters, Congress officials made strategic blunders that damaged the party's future prospects. Instead of building a cohesive grassroots organization of like-minded people, the Goa Congress tried to duplicate the umbrella pattern of the all-India party. It absorbed most of the disparate liberation groups without regard to their ideological persuasion and in the process created a legacy of indiscipline that was to last a generation. As a consequence of being run by political exiles appointed from Delhi, the party was oblivious to local issues that were bound to emerge in the territorial elections scheduled for December, 1963.

The response of the Congress to the merger issue was complicated by its position as a national party, specifically the rivalry of its Maharashtra and Mysore wings. In reaction to Maharashtra's expansionist claims which were expressed in legislative resolutions, Mysore advanced its own declaration of merger which also was based on economic and linguistic ties. As both states had Congress governments and strong state leaders in Y.B. Chavan and S.N. Nijalingappa, the national party was in a stalemate when it came to take an electoral stand on Goa's future status.

The local Congress was thus in a dilemma when it came to the allocation of tickets for the 1963 campaign. Under the circumstances, it tried to maintain that the future of Goa was not an election issue. Falling between two stools, it could not placate either side of the merger issue. This split personality of the Congress was exacerbated by a parade of prominent outside political figures such as Lal Bahadur Shastri and Y.B. Chavan who respectively advocated a continuation of Union Territory status or endorsed merger with Maharashtra.

Just as the Indian National Congress had naturally considered anti-colonial activity to be a requisite for a place on the ticket, so too did the Goa Congress feel compelled to select freedom fighters as their candidates. As a consequence, their list was heavily Brahman, since that community had dominated the resistance to Portuguese rule. Thus, only 6 of the 18 Hindus given tickets by the Congress were non-Brahmans, even though they constituted 90% of the non-Christian population. The disenchanted elements of the Congress who were excluded or who were advocates of merger were driven into the MGP which formed an alliance with the Praja Socialist Party. The ticketing criteria of the Congress was a recipe for disaster, for it enabled Goa's first free election to be fought on caste and communal lines. In a campaign waged on that basis among unsophisticated voters, the advantage was certain to go to the MGP. As a non-Brahman and Hindu-oriented party, the MGP was able to mobilize both anti-Brahman and anti-Catholic sentiment among its numerically superior constituency of voters.

As a result of the inability of the Congress to reach a solution satisfactory to both Hindus and Catholics, an opening had been given to the MG and UC parties which pressed for the extremes of merger with Maharashtra and statehood. Drawing its strength from the predominantly Hindu New Conquests which had become Portuguese in the late eighteenth century, the MGP and its allies won 16 Assembly seats and both Parliamentary constituents. In reaction to what they regarded as a threat to Goa's separate identity, the Christian community coalesced around the United Goans. The UC, whose support

was concentrated in the Old Conquests, which had become Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, picked up 12 Assembly seats. An independent was returned from Diu while the only Congressman who secured election to the territorial legislature came from Daman.

The results of the 1963 Goa elections were described "as the most serious electoral debacle" the Congress Party had suffered up to that point. Because of the communal nature of the results, Prime Minister Nehru was particularly "pained" at the outcome. Yet, until the question of merger was resolved, there was no place in Goa for a national political party that stressed economic issues and relied on appearances by central cabinet ministers as substitute for mass appeal. The communal pattern was thus established in Goan politics for the next decade. Moreover, until the question of merger was resolved, no comprehensive program for the territory's economic development was possible.

With the election of the MGP under the leadership of Chief Minister Dayanand Bandekar, the merger issue intensified. Since it regarded its victory as an endorsement of merger with Maharashtra, the MGP carried out a series of measures designed to promote that end. The Bandekar administration promoted Marathi as the language of government and education, while denigrating Konkani. It passed a resolution in the Goa Assembly demanding the merger of Goa with Maharashtra and Daman and Diu with Gujrat and enacted tenancy legislation which gave property to those who worked the land at the expense of those Goans who live abroad but maintained land in the territory. Perhaps most offensive, was the appointment of the civil servants from Maharashtra- ten per cent of the total- at a time when qualified Goans were available to fill the positions.

Bandekar's tactics provoked intense resistance and succeeded in uniting the Catholics and Brahman communities that were opposed to merger. The opposition response to these measures was twofold: the United Goans staged walkouts from the Assembly and a non-party Council of Direct Action was formed to stage extra-parliamentary demonstrations, satyagrahas, marches and hartels. By August, 1966 these tactics were seriously disrupting the economy of the territory. The Government of India was concerned with the escalation of the communal rhetoric that accompanied these activities. Yet with Congress dominated legislatures in Maharashtra unanimously supporting merger and Mysore endorsing the status quo, opposition parties were capitalizing on the ruling party's dilemma. As a way out of its predicament, the Congress Parliamentary Board on September 3, 1966 recommended that the Government of India conduct an Opinion Poll to ascertain the preferences of the people of Goa, Daman and Dui. Mrs. Gandhi's decision that Goans should have the right to self-determination was consistent with the dictates of both her predecessors. When the bill passed parliament after heated debate in December, the Bandekar government resigned and the territory was placed under President's Rule.

The campaign that transpired during the one month interval between the imposition of central administration and the January 17, 1967 Opinion Poll, by all accounts witnessed the most unprecedented and intense political activity in Goa's history and elicited a turnout of nearly 82% of the voters. The results rejected the contention that integration with India would be achieved only by merger with Maharashtra and Gujarat. Whereas the 1963 election campaign highlighted sectarian differences among Goans, the 1967 Opinion Poll served to solidify Goan identity. Just as the Congress had suffered from the importation of outsiders in the 1963 elections, the pro-merger forces were hurt by the intervention of Maharastrian politicians, government employees and motor vehicles in the campaign. Despite assurances by Chief Minister V.P. Naik of Maharashtra that Goa would be given special attention in terms of economic development after merger, anti-mergerists could point to the relative backwardness of the Konkani regions in his own state as well as the advantages of having Panjim rather than Bombay serve as the administrative capital and judicial centre for the area.

With their identity at stake, the Goans rejected merger by a substantial majority of 34,021 out of 317,633 votes cast. The fact that 60,000 more Hindus than Catholics voted

indicates that there was a significant crossover of non-Christians in all parts of the territory. As a plurality of nearly 10,000 anti-merger votes was provided by Daman and Diu. It is believed that these enclaves were reluctant to be merged with Gujarat, a state noted for its curbs on the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Similarly, within Goa there was a significant defection of MGP supporters among the toddy-tappers who believed their livelihood would be jeopardized by merger with Maharashtra. However, the most salient explanation for the rejection of merger can be found in the alliance of the Hindu Brahmans with virtually the entire Catholic community who respectively had divided their vote between the Congress and the United Goans in 1963. In supporting autonomy for Goa the Brahmans, who had been in the forefront of the anti-Portuguese struggle, acted because of a fear they would lose their pre-eminent positions in trade and industry as well as their political leadership in the event of incorporation with Maharashtra.

The Evolution of Political Parties

Although the alliance between Christians and Hindu Brahmans succeeded in blocking the attempted merger with Maharashtra in January 1967, it was unable to gain control of the territory's political apparatus in the ensuing March Assembly elections. When seat adjustments between the Congress and United Goans failed to materialize, the Bandekar government returned to power as the MGP retained its 16-12 margin. As the Congress did not field a formal ticket, the results suggest Hindu Brahman voters were not prepared to support a communal party like the United Goans. When the Congress and United Goans came to an agreement to support each other's parliamentary candidates in 1971, the Congress won the north and the UG retained the south seat it had captured in 1967. Although it was maintained by some that Goa had entered the mainstream of Indian politics, the results of the 1972 elections indicate otherwise. In that year the Congress once more fielded a full slate of candidates, while it again won only Daman at a time Mrs. Gandhi's supporters were sweeping the rest of the country. Despite several personal appearances by the Prime Minister in Goa, the effect of her efforts was to mandate an 18-10 MGP margin over the UGP. Clearly the MGP was kept in office not by its own achievements but by a divided opposition.

Both the MGP and the UGP were more like personal extensions of the Bandekar and Sequeira families than political parties. In the face of repeated charges of autocratic rule by their leadership, both parties suffered a series of splits that paved the way for the intrusion of national political parties. Upon Bandekar's death in August 1973, he was succeeded by his daughter Mrs. Sashikala Kakodkar as president of the MGP and Chief Minister even though she was only a junior minister at the time. The final split in the UG was precipitated by Erasmo de Sequeira's decision to join Charan Singh's BLD group in parliament. Sequeira's action was a product of the national view he had acquired as a representative in Delhi for several years, but it also reflected the party's deterioration as a force in Goan politics. By 1974 even the party's Catholic bastions were no longer safe. While the bulk of the United Goans under A.N. Naik moved into the Indian National Congress during the Emergency in 1976, the Sequeira group later joined the Janata coalition. By 1977 national politics had finally intruded into Goa.

While politics in Goa was changing, the MGP failed to adjust. In an attempt to solidify her own position in the party, Mrs. Kakodkar narrowed its base and in the process antagonized not only the Catholic minority, but other groups as well. Although her caste group constituted a minute fraction of the Hindu community, a disproportionate share of the party's 1977 candidates were drawn from it. Moreover, she literally wrote off constituencies that were vital to the party's continued control of the legislature. As a result of an ineffective campaign, the total number of seats captured by the MGP dropped to 15, and the support of independent members from Diu and Daman,

who were named Speaker and Deputy Speaker, was required to form the new government. Only the nearly even distribution of the opposition vote caused by the emergence of the Janata party in the June Assembly races prevented the rout of the MGP. While the Janata picked up only three seats for its efforts compared to ten for the Congress, the electoral competition of these two parties made possible MGP pluralities for the first time in three predominantly Catholic constituencies and ensured narrow wins in two others.

Shortly after the results were known, a body called the Peoples' Democratic front, with ties to parties and interest groups across the political spectrum, was formed to organize public demonstrations in an attempt to bring down the Kokodkar government. In a situation where the governing party did not have an absolute majority in a thirty member legislature, the prospects for instability were manifest. The selection of the cabinet nearly caused the government to fail. Younger, better educated Hindu backbenchers were disenchanted when they were passed over for inclusion in an undistinguished Council of Ministers, and some of those who were included were resentful that Mrs. Kakodkar retained 75% of the portfolios for herself. In particular, those members who were elected from traditional non-MGP seats demanded special consideration so that they might be returned in future contests. Instead of pacifying them, Mrs. Kakodkar's response was to engage in vituperative public exchanges – a tactic that jeopardized the very existence of her government. She survived two years under these circumstances only because a Janata government was in power in New Delhi, while the principal opposition in Goa was the Congress (I). Finally in April, 1979 President's Rule was imposed.

The unruly character of Mrs. Kakodkar's supporters in the Assembly after they lost their majority and the failure of Prime Minister Desai – already unpopular among Goan Catholics because of his identification with the imposition of prohibition, a ban on cow slaughter and freedom of religion legislation designed to discourage conversions – served to discredit both the MG and Janata parties in the ensuing January, 1980 elections. Facing a party whose constitution was an anachorism since it still formally called for merger with Maharashtra, and not subject to significant inroads by Janata, as had been the case three years previously, the Congress (U) won a victory of landslide proportions. Not only did it capture 23 of 30 Assembly seats, but Mrs. Kakodkar was defeated in her own riding. The results marked the first time that Goa had voted for a national party, but in supporting the Congress (U) MP for South Goa, crossed the floor and joined the Indira group. At about the same time, local units of the two Congress parties amalgamated, a prudent strategy since Mrs. Gandhi's party was in power in Delhi and a union territory is heavily dependent on the centre. Characteristically, Mrs. Gandhi placed loyalists in charge of the territorial party apparatus despite their record of repeated electoral failures. Notwithstanding Chief Minister Pratapsingh Rane's attempt to accommodate the various factions which composed his majority, there was no shortage of disappointed politicians. Almost immediately factions coalesced around two ministers, both former United Goans, A.N. Naik, a Hindu, and Dr. Willy de Souza, a Christian. Ironically, their rivalry and his support in New Delhi at the time the Union Territory hosted the Commonwealth Meetings in 1983 enabled Rane to survive repeated crises and continue as Chief Minister for ten years.

Prior to the 1984 elections, the splits in the Congress coalition became manifest; de Souza and his principally Catholic followers formed a new organization, the Goa Congress; Mrs Kakodkar, the former Chief Minister, founded a party named after her late father, and meanwhile the MGP continued to exist as a rump force. As had been the case previously, the various splits worked to the advantage of the ruling party in the December 1984 poll as the INC won 18 seats, the MGP took 8, the Goa Congress claimed one and independents garnered three. Ironically both de Souza and Naik, as well as Mrs. Kakodkar, were defeated.

The Quest for Statehood

If the coming to power of a national political party was an indication of Goa's integration, its delay in becoming a full-fledged state was considered by some Goans to be a measure of their lack of integration. Union territory status was in many circles regarded as synonymous with second class citizenship. For Goans union territory status was viewed as an intermediate phase and merger with a neighbouring state as a means of securing first class status had been rejected. Goans felt the logical progression was statehood. Indeed all major parties had endorsed such a proposal in the last three territorial elections.

The reasons for the delay in achieving statehood were primarily historical and political. The draft constitution of 1948 did not mention the Portuguese pockets existing as separate units in terms of an independent India. The status of Goa, Daman and Diu, after their incorporation into the Indian Union, was defined by the Government of Union Territories Act of 1963. This act was later amended to enhance the power of territories are basically the same as those of a state, there are several significant differences, particularly with regard to financial matters. A territory's ability to borrow is constrained. In addition, a union territory has no personality in the courts. It acts in the name of the Union Government and is under the administration of the Home Ministry. Its chief administrative officer is a Lt. Governor while that of a state is a Governor. At his behest or that of parliament, the centre's ability to intervene or delay is considerable. The ability to review actions taken by territorial governments can result in delays in the administration of public service – a situation that can contribute to a feeling of remoteness. In the case of Goa, its judicial system was ultimately under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Bombay.

In addition to these administrative limitations, there are political disadvantages to being a union territory as opposed to a state, even though representation in the Rajya Sabha would be by election not nomination. In terms of population, with two seats, Goa was over-represented in the Lok Sabha compared to the rest of the country. In terms of legislative representation, states are normally required to have assemblies with a minimum number of sixty delegates. This factor militated against Goa because of its small size. Goa's area is the size of most state districts, and hence thirty seats are adequate for its geographic representation. Despite its relatively small numbers, Goa's population density exceeded that of the states of Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura. The fact that Daman and Diu are not contiguous to Goa suggested that they would eventually be merged with Gujarat.

States are supposed to be viable economically and this argument was applied against Goa. Former Prime Minister Shastri was on record as saying that in a hundred years Goa would still require economic assistance from the centre. Yet with its considerable mineral wealth and one of the best harbours in the country located at Marmugoa, Goa is more viable economically than most states in the Indian Union. Certainly it was in a better economic position than most territories. Indeed, government revenues rose more than 50% between 1964-65 and 1975-76. While union territories have their budgetary deficits subsidized to encourage development, statehood does not preclude this possibility. For example, while 87% of the revenue requirements of Nagaland are met by the centre, the need for central assistance in the case of Goa is only 30%. Many states such as Haryana, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Himchal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir were more heavily subsidized as states on a per capita basis than Goa was as a union territory. By the same measurement, income tax collections in Goa were the second highest in the entire country. Economically, Goa did not seem deficient in terms of the requirements for statehood.

Political stability is another requisite for statehood. According to former Home Minister H.M. Patel, Goa, despite a record that includes 16 consecutive years of government by one party, fell short in that respect. With regard to defections, Goa's

record compared to most state legislatures is not out of the ordinary. Nor does it fare badly in terms of the comparative outbreak of violence. Yet, the unstable northeastern integration, because of their strategic position seemed to warrant it. Goa, on the other hand, was denied statehood by the central government until it achieved what was regarded as a satisfactory level of emotional integration. If this contradiction sounded like "catch 22" to the average Goan, he could only blame his territorial government and himself for not being more assertive.

A government whose sole purpose was to push for merger with neighbouring states obviously was not anxious to repudiate its position. Chief Minister Bandodkar was slow to acknowledge the results of the opinion poll, for as late as 1969 he maintained that bogus electoral rolls were responsible for the success of the anti-merger forces. In September of the following year he claimed that development should precede the granting of statehood. By 1971 he pronounced statehood to be his "ultimate aim", but when the Assembly passed a United Goan Private Member's Resolution to that effect, Bandodkar was absent from the House. While later that year Bandodkar endorsed "working statehood", his daughter seemed to retreat. As late as March, 1976, she was on record as stating that the "time was not right for statehood". Not until mid-October did the MG demand full-fledged statehood and that was done by means of a non-official resolution. When it became expedient for election purposes, the MG climbed on the statehood bandwagon in 1977 and 1980, but it never really pushed Delhi on the matter.

Under the circumstances, Delhi was slow to respond. Both Mrs. Gandhi and her immediate successor were on record as opposing the creation of small states. Yet in March 1972, Mrs. Gandhi announced that statehood would be granted to Goa at the "appropriate time". When Janata came to power in 1977, Railway Minister, Madhu Dandavate promised his administration would upgrade Goa's status to state. However, his pledge was quickly repudiated by Prime Minister Desai. The return of Mrs. Gandhi to power in Delhi in 1980 and the simultaneous installation of the Congress in Panjim – the first time in history the government of Goa has been of the same party that controlled the centre – initially made no difference in the territory's status. However, the case of statehood for Goa could not be seen in isolation. Since any move regarding Goa was alleged to have an effect on other jurisdiction that were also demanding statehood, the Union government proceeded cautiously.

Given the linguistic basis of states in India, advocates of statehood for Goa pursued a strategy of attempting to have Konkani included in the Eighth Schedule as a recognized national language. They believed that such an action, which would enable exams at the state level to be taken in Konkani, would enhance the language's development as well as expedite statehood. However, these tactics were unproductive for several reasons. For one thing the Government of India was reluctant to extend the linguistic state formula to the Konkani regions as they are not contiguous and this would have required redrawing the borders of Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Since some of these border areas are already in dispute, the so-called Vishal Gomantak (Border Goa) formula for statehood had often been advanced as a way of ending these conflicts and granting Goa statehood. However, merger with what are less developed and more populous parts of other states would not only create additional financial burdens for Goa, but also cause the area to lose its distinct cultural identity.

While English was the language of choice for Goans, in an attempt to exclude outsiders, Konkani became "desirable" for employment in government service. The use of English in administration was a technique to avoid having to choose between Konkani and Marathi as an official language. While 95% of Goans speak Konkani, the majority if Hindus read and write Marathi. The official language controversy was rekindled in July 1985 when Luizinho Faleiro, the sole MLA of the communal Goa Congress, in an attempt to embarrass the Rane government and enhance his party's weak electoral position, moved a private member's bill making Konkani the territory's official language. A few months later, Rane's own executive, with the backing of Eduardo Faleiro, the MP for

South Goa and Union Minister of State for External Affairs, endorsed the measure. The demands of the largely Christian Goa Congress were supported by the Konkani Porjecho Awaz (KPA) comprised of a handful of largely Hindu writers. In response, the all-India Congress Committee drafted a bill making Konkani the official language, but assuring Marathi "equal protection". In reaction, pro-Marathi agitators set fire to government-owned vehicles and ruptured the water pipeline to Margao the principal city in Salcete taluka. The Congress was characteristically caught in the middle unable to ignore the demands of either the pro-Konkani or pro-Marathi advocates. Ironically eight Congress MLAs who had defeated pro-Marathi MGP candidates in the 1984 election now demanded a dual language formula. The issue, clearly a device by disgruntled Congressmen to topple the Kane government, remained dormant from the July legislative session until celebration commemorating the 25th anniversary of the liberation on December 19. Claiming that, "As long as Goa remained a Union Territory and Konkani was not recognized as the official language, the Liberation was incomplete", agitators alluding to the developments in Assam and Mizoram, asserted that "the only language New Delhi understands is violence". In the ensuing days, politicians sponsored demonstrations which attempted to create a situation whereby President's Rule would be proclaimed and new elections called. "The logic", one commentator claimed, "seemed to be that if the bill could not be passed without bringing down the government, the government would have to be brought down to pass the bill". Accordingly, pro-Konkani demonstrators attempted to block all roads in Tiswadi and Salcete talukas during the height of the tourist season. Pro-Marathi agitators reacted by turning these roadblocks "into communal traps that ensnared the agitators themselves." In the ensuing violence, six people were killed and fourteen companies of CRPF and Gujarat SRP were required to restore the peace.

In the midst of the breakdown of law and order, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi indicated that Goa lacked the political maturity for statehood. He implied the language issue had to be resolved before Goa would be granted statehood. He further indicated that the center would not interfere in the matter which had to be decided by the territorial assembly. Nevertheless, the centre intervened to have the local Congress party's legislation passed and accepted. After the Goa Assembly adopted the Official Languages Bill which made Konkani in Devangari script the official language and provided for the use of Marathi in Goa and Gujarati in Daman and Diu, the statehood issue acquired a new and curious momentum. According to the Hindu serious consideration for granting statehood to Goa coincided with the defeat the Congress sustained in Kerala, leaving Goa as the party's only government in the South.

In retrospect, after a campaign that began in 1967, statehood appeared to come about almost too swiftly. No political party got what it wanted, as the Goa Congress had fought for Konkani with Roman script and the MGP had championed Marathi. In reality the issue was moot, as English was entrenched as the language of both education and administration. Typically, the Congress solution was a compromise which satisfied almost no one but the politicians, who used statehood to expand the size of both the legislature and the cabinet.

The manner in which Goa achieved statehood in 1987 suggests that Indian politicians are not averse to reviving communal issues such as language in order to obtain selfish objectives. What is unique in the Goan case is that it was the initiative. As was the situation during the 1967 Opinion Poll, the Christians made common cause with the Hindu Brahman community in order to promote the Konkani language. What is regrettable is that 25 years after territorial integration, the Government of India responded to violence and not democratic politics in granting statehood.

Patterns of Integration

Integration as Robert Newman has pointed out in *Pacific Affairs* 57 (Fall, 1984) has transformed Goa especially in the areas of education, agriculture, fishing, mining and tourism. Practically non-existent under the Portuguese, education has expanded rapidly. Under Portuguese rule there had been only 176 primary schools, 233 secondary schools and 37 institutions at the tertiary level, including a university, were in existence. Significant economic advances, especially in the areas of agriculture, mining and tourism have been made. By 1971 the production of rice, the region's principal crop, had increased 45% as new land was bought under cultivation and existing irrigation canals improved. Increased yields were also registered in the production of coconuts, cashew nuts and the catch of fish. Commercial trawlers, nearly 6.4 million tons in the last year of Portuguese rule, to a high of 14.8 million tons in 1976. As a result of the need to export ore, the port of Mormugao was expanded into one of the major harbours in western India. Government loans foster such industries as pesticides, fertilizers, barge-building and the brewing of beer. By 1980 the Indian government had electrified 330 of Goa's 383 villages compared to only three under the Portuguese. Similarly, by 1978 bank branches had increased from two to 216 with their assets exceeding Rs. 2 billion. Hotel beds had increased from 450 in 1961 to nearly 6000 in 1980, establishing Goa as the "Hawaii of the sub-continent". Over 800,000 tourists, 100,000 from the West, come annually to enjoy the region's pristine beaches. Air service with the Gulf and Europe is becoming commonplace. Road and bridge construction has kept pace and the Zuari Bridge, which made the remote southern districts accessible, was completed in December, 1983. More than any other factor, it is migration patterns between Goa and other parts of India which have promoted integration.

Yet the same forces which have promoted integration have created backlashes. Development threatens to overwhelm the scenery that attracts tourists, and tourists are resented for their affluence and alien culture. Economic dislocations have sparked animosity between miners and farmers over pollution, landlords and tenants over agricultural rights and traditional fishermen and trawler owners over the harvest of the sea. The new forms of economic activity and the new style of administration have brought considerable numbers of non-Goans into the region. Nearly 300,000 – roughly 30% of the population – now consists of migrants from other parts of India, and they are the fastest growing demographic segment. As educated Goans migrate to the Gulf and North America in search of better paying employment opportunities, local jobs increasingly fall to Indians from other parts of the country. In response, the government has committed itself to reserving 100% of job vacancies for locals. Even though remittances from abroad are considerable, there is resentment that the deposits are not invested locally by India's nationalized banks.

Although the indigenous Catholic population has particularly declined, most Goans have come to feel outnumbered in their own state. Indeed, if present population trends continue, Goans will be a minority in their own region by the end of the century. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to see how more seats in the state legislature can benefit existing groups. Urbanization, which under the Portuguese was less than 15% has more than doubled, putting particular pressure on the port city of Vasco da Gama where an unauthorized shanty town of 100,000 has been created. During rioting on November 1, 1982, over 100 huts were razed and military and police detachments had to be sent to restore order. Such tactics can only forestall the inevitable. In the long run, neither those who promote local or regional identity will prevail. Because of the influx from south India, it appears that both sides lost the Opinion Poll. The attainment of statehood has not altered the reality. With each passing day, Goa becomes more like the rest of India. The loss of its architectural and cultural uniqueness is the measure of Goa's integration.

FAITH AND RACE RELATIONS ACROSS GENERATIONS

BY FR. LESTER D'SOUZA

In this paper I will attempt to be generic and not restrict my comments to Christians, or residents of Canada. I will be addressing just a few considerations in a very complex aspect of life to people who are from Goa. 'Race relations' is part of our response as Goans, to our recognition of racial diversity. On an international scale, we can see a spectrum of responses to diversity that range from S. Africa at one end to Aotearoa (New Zealand) on the other.

In order for us to discuss the topic at hand, it is important to clarify what we mean by the terms 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture'.

'Race' is a social category used to classify humankind and reliant upon differentiation by general physical characteristics such as colour of skin, texture, stature and facial features.

'Ethnicity' refers to:

- a) a social identity;
- b) a national/cultural origin
- c) a characteristics of a group that maintains and creates cultural symbols which can and do change over time
- d) an adjective used to describe groups which share a common language, race, religion

Ethnicity should not be confused with racial minority. Everyone has ethnicity. Salient dimensions in the perception of ethnicity are: a) Race; b) generation (as first/second/third generation) in the case of immigrants; c) socioeconomic status; d) education; e) language (which can sometimes be equal in effect as physical features like skin colour); f) power status.

'Culture' is the totality of ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge of a group of individuals who share certain ethnicity, racial characteristics and historical experiences. Culture is dynamic and often contains elements of conflict and opposition. Language has been identified by some as the principal means of cultural expression.¹

Race relations are human relations that recognize racial diversity. Offensive and unacceptable or 'sinful' forms of human relations, are seen as 'racism' which then should be differentiated from 'ethnocentrism' and 'mono-culturalism'.

The 'big dipper', a formation of the stars had been very important in navigation to indicate the location of the 'pole star'. The pattern that is seen in the stars is only visible from the earth. A person in a position other than this solar system would find that the arrangement of the same stars would appear quite differently. Intergalactic navigators could not use this pattern of stars as they would not find it at all. Similarly, in the following discussion, our own position is often what makes a difference in the way we see the same entity.

Having noted the reality of racial diversity, as human beings we seem to find it important to ask: How much diversity should be permitted? We find this question addressed in a variety of responses from around the world.

The variety of expressions appears as part of the identity of nations and ranges from – South Africa where there is a forced retention of cultures – Australia (official policy of being exclusively white till 1974) – United States of America (melting pot with the persistence of ethnicity) – Canada (“mosaic”) – Aotearoa (or New Zealand where the Maori retain their lifestyle to a degree).

Once we recognize the differences and allow that at least some are permissible, we can consider ways in which these groups can relate. To continue with the example of countries mentioned above, we can have a variety of ways in which the different people relate. We find people who forcefully exclude and separate from others who are different (S. Africa) to the total integration of different ethnic groups. In the case of an assimilationist society, of course, there is a specific attempt to eliminate differences (e.g. U.S.A.). Canada appears to combine more acceptance of diversity and less assimilation or segregation than the other nations mentioned.

Assimilationists believe that “everybody has to be like me” regardless of their race. This was the situation in Australia until 1974. The official policy was that only white people were welcome to Australia. Canada too had this view until very recently.² The assimilationist position works fine as long as one was restricted to the same race – people who looked the same – even if they were ethnically different. When racially different people enter such a community then assimilation is obviously not possible. The result is a “melting pot” as in the U.S.A. where they decided to become a new people – Americans – and where the colour of a person was not to be important. Individuals who take this approach sometimes claim to be ‘colour blind’. Like other forms of blindness this is not what we might consider ‘normal’ or desirable. In some countries different groups of people live together in perfect harmony and still retain their ethnicity, and in fact they are encouraged to do so, e.g. the Maoris in Aotearoa (New Zealand) were given a choice.

When people need each other and interact with each other there are two basic components we have to deal with: (1) the frequency of our encounters; and (2) the degree of intimacy that we encounter.

Generally speaking, we find that the quality of our relationships is enhanced in proportion to the combination of frequency and intimacy in relationships. Frequent but superficial contact or occasional but intimate contacts are the most likely environments for misunderstanding and poor relationships. No contacts with others can also result in ‘wonderful relationships’. I do not think we need to pursue that option.

We can describe our identity or position in life in many ways. Some components that seem self evident in the context of our topic include: name, education, language, socio-economic status, power status and ethnicity. I would like to mention some other important points.

1. As Goans at this Convention in Toronto, Canada, we are people who have moved. The reason for our movement affects how we relate to others. I do not consider us in the position of (a) the aboriginal people who have not moved and become conquered people, or (b) the dominant people in the places we live in. Our focus is on those Goans who have moved as immigrants or as refugees.

Immigrants often try to maintain some allegiance to their place of origin while at the same time claiming allegiance to their present place of residence. Refugees have a greater allegiance to the place they have come from and often continue to be politically and economically active in their place of origin. A conquered people of course have great attachment to their present place of residence but would resent the conquerors and the present conditions of life.

2. In the case of immigrants it also matters how long ago the immigration took place. The First generation has known the former place of residence and the present. There is often a vocal attachment to the former and a participation in the present. For the

Second generation the former is something to be rejected and there is the expressed wish to be identified with the present place, e.g. people who wish to be 'Canadian'. The Third generation tries to go back to its roots and there is a renewed interest in the ancestral home.

3. Developmentally, one can also consider one's age from a pre-teen/teen/20-40/40-60/60-80/over 80. There are different perspectives and dynamics that are operative at different times in one's life. Most literature has seen the usual transition to be from dependence through independence to interdependence.

Some recent research³ has identified a different progression for women in which the independence phase does not appear. There is, however, a clarification of identity in relationship with others. This growth is complicated by an apparent shift in the rates and times of maturity. It seems that people are maturing physically at a younger age and psychologically later than we are accustomed to.

In summary, race relations is the way we relate to people who look different from ourselves. The negative form of these relationship are expressed as racism. As a people who have been colonized, we have often learnt to live according to the colonial mentality and values. In the colonial society there is a hierarchy of races⁴. This acceptance of a racial hierarchy encourages us to personally adopt the type of situation we find in countries like South Africa. We could choose to live and relate to people differently just as different countries have done. Our inter-generational relationships are complicated by the racial differences we encounter. We can resolve tensions in our relationships by increasing both – the frequency of contact and intimacy of our relationships.

I would like to turn to the subject of 'faith' and then address the interaction between faith and race relations across generations.

We often use the term 'faith' in different contexts to mean either – trust or the content of what we believe. For our purposes I use the term 'faith' to refer to the response and commitment we make to our God. Hence, the description of our God become crucial. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the various images of God in detail. It may be sufficient to recognize that our spirituality plays a critical role in the form that our faith takes.

Important factors in faith would include:

1. One's faith identity. In the Hebrew, Christian and Hindu perspectives people who are in the image and likeness of God, people who are the children of God, people who are the temples of the Holy Spirit, the people of God. We are to be respectful of our own bodies and the bodies of others. In this respect we are to have dignity and honour for ourselves and people of all races.

2. Our profession of 'catholicity', which means universal openness to the presence of God in others. This has been expressed in Sanskrit as 'tat tvam asi'. The expression is also a recognition of divinity in others.

3. Our characterization as people who show hospitality to God and to those who come in the name of God. Our hospitality is evident in our treatment of strangers and all in need.

4. The importance we attach to our willingness to listen to the word of God. Listening in this sense would include our faith i.e. our responsiveness to God as expressed in our lives and treatment of all people. This response is not a fleeting one that can change with our mood, rather it is understood as a commitment to continue to improve our relationships.

5. A people with good relationships. This is the meaning of the term 'peace' (Hebrew: shalom; and its cognates e.g. Salaam).

6. Our mission to share the gifts of God, notably the presence of God in us, with all people.

Racism would then be considered a sin. In the expression of faith, racism would mean refusing to recognize and respond in an enduring manner to the presence and relationship that is offered to us by our Creator.⁵

As a people of faith, a true response and commitment to the God of all, it is essential that we continue to be characterized by hospitality and good relationships with different races and generations. As Cardinal Cordeiro suggested, in his remarks to the Convention, it is in this way that we give life and meaning to our identity as Goans.

In conclusion, the patterns we see in the stars depends on the position we have in this universe; the light of the stars we see actually left those stars a long time ago, it is the light of the past. The future depends on the responses and commitments we make to the many choices we have in life. The ones with greater choices have greater responsibility.

Exercising choices requires some confidence and I would like to share some of my observations from my experience and study. There are two seemingly opposing trends – increasing globalization and increasing differentiation with emphasis on ethnicity. As a Christian I find that in the experience of Pentecost and its example of multilingual, multiracial communication the miracle is listening. I find a divine call to greater complexity in our interdependence, and at the same time a call for greater simplicity. It has been my experience that there are no shortcuts and that real choices in real situations can be painful. However, I find this pain can also be good news. In the words of St. Paul “.. creation .. has been groaning in one great painful act of giving birth” (Rom. 8:22).

I believe that how we handle the racial diversity we experience will depend ultimately on our spirituality, our faith. It is the way we listen and answer to our God. The Truth is shown not in so much words as in Life.

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Excerpts From “ GOANS WITHIN A CANADIAN MOSAIC ”

BY VILA NOVA CARVALHO

Who are the Goans?

They are the “converted” as it were, the people who come from the Rome of the East.

These are the people some of whom left their mother country in search of better fortune and to seek a better future for their offsprings. Though the main reason for their immigration may have been economic, a large number of them were recruited to serve in the colonial service of foreign governments essentially because of their abilities. Goans have had their good reputation preceed them as a race who are completely reliable and whose hybrid culture enabled them to adopt very easily in any society. Their administrative, professional and accounting skills stood them in good stead. However, the tide of politics in certain countries singled them out as associates of the colonial rulers and their minority position aggravated the already tense situation which finally resulted in a number having to be refugees - the Uganda exodus being a case in point. In this case, however, the loss for Uganda became the gain of Canada.

GOANS IN CANADA

The presence of the Goans in Canada is of relatively recent occurrence. The initial immigration started in the fifties and the numbers grew as the rules and regulations on immigration became less stringent. In keeping with the national tendencies, settlement has taken place in the urban areas where jobs are more easily available and where other Goans live. People with whom the immigrants could share their problems and obtain assistance in settling in.

CANADIAN “MOSAIC”

In order to understand the policy one should realize that from the dawn of our

recorded history, Canada has been home to a variety of people with different racial, linguistic and ethno-cultural backgrounds. This diversity which is described as "multiculturalism" has enriched the lives of all Canadians. In the future, this country will be even more multicultural and multiracial because reliance will have to be put on immigration if we have to maintain our population level in the face of a declining birth rate and a rapidly aging people.

Multiculturalism which is a recognition of the cultural and racial diversity of Canada and of the equality of Canadians of all origins, is integral to the country's social and economic well-being. It affords a civilized framework within which our diverse population lives in relative harmony and mutual respect. There is also an acknowledgment of the worth of every community's contribution and every person has equal opportunity to participate in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the country.

There is no pretence that all vestiges of cultural, racial and religious discrimination and bigotry has been got rid of, but the society is confident that in seeking the higher ground of enlightenment and decency the majority of Canadians will wish for nothing less.

WITHER GOANS:

The future of the Goans depends on being known and identified as Goans. It is only then that the great qualities that the Goans possess can be recognized and appreciated. No one can know what you are worth unless you demonstrate it.

CONCLUSION

Goans have a reputation of being outstanding model citizens in every country that they have adopted as their home - Canada is no exception. However, we should not permit ourselves to rest on our laurels. With our abilities and sound background we can do far more. We should aspire to do far more so that we appear as a glittering stone within the Canadian mosaic. There are tremendous opportunities within this great country, let us not allow them to pass us by. Grab them and build on it for the benefit of your children and the community.

NEW BEGINNINGS : THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGE FOR GOANS WORLDWIDE

BY MAURICE GRACIAS

My purpose this evening is to throw a challenge to each of you and to the community at large not only in Canada, but in all other countries where Goans have made their home. The challenge is this. At the end of my address to you tonight, and tomorrow, and in the years to come, people the world over and we Goans will remain divided into three distinct and separate categories – those who make things happen, secondly those who watch things happen, but are not and do not want to be a part of the action, and thirdly, those who stand around and do not know what is happening. Let us hope that most, if not all of us, will be in the first category – Goans who make things happen.

Our title today is “New Beginnings – The Socio-Economic Challenge for Goans worldwide.” This is an ambitious inquiry base. In this context the most crucial words are “New Beginnings” and “Challenge”.

I invite you to walk back with me in time to specific aspects of our history of the last 120 years. We Goans are a proud people, and justly so. Some of the historical corridors are dim and laden with dust. Some are brightly lighted. We will explore both.

In the socio-economic sphere of the 1800s and the first half of this century, our fathers and mothers and our grandparents lived in a world where the opportunity for them to achieve at the middle and higher levels of the economic scene did not exist, and could not be created however hard they tried.

On the world scene, people other than Goans retained total undivided, unshared, uncompromising command on every major facet of life. In the pre-1950 era, our Goan predecessors therefore did not at a more significant level have the opportunity for leadership, for growth, for advancement, for ambition.

This situation prevailed whether Goans were in British India, in Africa or in other settlements. This was a worldwide, universal phenomenon affecting Goans and others. Goans did not and could not aspire to positions of authority, even at middle levels in the socio-economic world. In turn, we formed our own societies and organizations, achieving what we could in a severely limited field of endeavour.

The consequences were disheartening. Our activity outside Goa was confined, restricted and could only produce relatively small achievement. Historically in Goa this pattern of life was only partly true. In Goa there was some break with world tradition and Goans were able to secure a place at certain levels in society.

The fact is that as a result, the world of that time left a deep lingering imprint on our

lives, and we have to assess what efforts we have made to eradicate this particular legacy.

In the late 1940s changes began to emerge in the horizon. Dependent countries began to gain political freedom and autonomy beginning with the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. The Portuguese left Goa in 1961. Opportunities for Goan progress and enterprise opened up, and there were gains within certain confines. African countries received their independence in the 1960s. Goans in several countries were faced with critical decisions, affecting themselves and posterity. They were in pursuit of new horizons. Some were gripped with the fear of the unknown. Some accepted the challenge in their stride.

In the period commencing with the late 1950s, Goans in fairly large numbers migrated to Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States. The process continues to this day. These Goans are in search of a new life. All these countries are lands of glamor, lands of appeal in different senses, to different degrees, with different strengths and different weaknesses. In making our life in a new homeland, what did we Goans do in the dilemma of re-settlement facing us? In some respects, we did admirably well, especially when the respective country's Governments and the people gave the Goans assistance and cooperation. We brought to the forefront our strong potential and resourcefulness for adjusting to any situation that presented itself, and in some respects we fitted remarkably well into the glove of our new environment.

Did we, Goans, have any socio-economic eminence in any of our former settlements in any part of the world before 1950? Could we transfer the then existing strength to our new homeland? The answer is that we had little power, and therefore we brought no power of any significance to our new homeland. We, however, brought considerable knowledge and skill, and, above all, we brought potential for greatness.

The dawn of the 1950s saw the whole wide world unfenced to us, in some countries more than in others. The doorway is, and has been wide open for us. Have we walked thru it? Have we stood still at the doorway?

You and I will now proceed to make our determinations. Socio-economic excellence in most of our new settlements in the world had been available to us since the 1950s, but except to a small extent, we have not embraced it. Despite this, those Goans who have triumphed on the socio-economic scene deserve our congratulations. I particularly want to congratulate the Canadian Goans on their many successes which I have learned about in the last few days.

For personal advancement, for progress, for growth, we had to equip ourselves. We had to have the tools. The first requisite was education and training. For some of our ancestors, the avenues of higher education were generally closed. The break in higher education came from the Goans in British India, beginning with the early years of this century. Subsequent to this, all through this century, Goans have made splendid successes. We salute all Goans who have achieved world wide acclaim in the field of education and specialized training.

Goans have excelled worldwide in the professions, and are to be congratulated on their accomplishments. But this represents such a minuscule section of the community that it does not transform or vitalize the community to socio-economic prominence. We have been confined to a narrow field in utilizing the skills and the knowledge that could have been flowing, from specialized education and training to socio-economic eminence.

In my career, I have travelled extensively in many countries, observing and working with people of other countries. This has contributed to my being able to more fully comprehend the situation and to make specific judgments. Unfortunately, it is possible that we Goans have been dominated by our attitude and our old approach to life. We have not been selective in what we perpetuate, and what we discard. We can remedy this.

I strongly recommend that we retain for all time much of our sacred heritage, our old traditions, but there are some traditions we should break with. As a community, we should evaluate what traditions we should abandon and what traditions we should

retain. We have made no community declarations on this. As new migrants, we do not have a Goan "Magna Charta" of socio-economic goals, either locally, nationally or internationally.

The danger is when any people set their goals too low, or set none at all. The danger is when people are content with mediocrity, and even when they approve of it. In this we can portray a bad example for our young, and for people who look to us for role models. At times, people in any walk of life can be concerned about things that mean little in this fast changing and already changed world, and in the process fail to seize the chance.

We have to examine whether we have broken our bond, our link with the socio-economic past. We have to make ourselves into a more daring people. As Cardinal Cordeiro so eloquently stated – we Goans must have a mission before us – a mission clear and unequivocal.

In our midst we have Goans who we applaud for their success. More of us in the community could make New Beginnings. We have a backlog on the economic front, as we stand on the threshold ill-prepared for the 90s and the twenty-first century. We have the ability to overtake this backlog. We have the will to succeed. Let us achieve, and not only give pride to ourselves in our achievements, but let us make the Government and the people of the country where we have made our new home, feel mighty proud of us as their new citizens.

Is there a bright side to our present situation? Yes, there certainly is. Be an optimist. Be a realist. You know the story of how some people emphasize the same glass as being half empty while others see it as half full. Many times, that is the determining factor between the achiever and the non-achiever. We Goans are loaded with potential. We must only move to tap it.

We now live in lands of unfettered opportunity. The Governments of these countries have been wonderful to us. The opportunity before us is tremendous.

How can we, as Goans, individually and collectively, institutionally and internationally make New Beginnings? What do I mean when I say we can succeed?

We can make New Beginnings as individuals manifesting wisdom, prudence, courage and talent. We can make New Beginnings in groups of friends where trust and confidence can blossom and be fostered. We can make New Beginnings through our own institutions and by collaborating with other communities, depending on the magnitude of our ventures. We can make New Beginnings through cooperation with and the projects undertaken by different Goan institutions in different countries and continents, even on a worldwide basis. We can seek consultation, guidelines and direction from other communities and business entities.

Can this really be done to bring economic and financial success and prosperity to us as participants? Yes, in the socio-economic field, all this can be done in our personal and community lives. I am not preaching theory to you. I am declaring practice and reality to you. I am telling you this to emphasize to you that there is room for many more of us at the top, if we want to go there and know how to get there.

The Goan community in all countries could set up their own banks, their own insurance companies, their own brokerage houses, their own investment banking organizations, their own real estate companies, their own industries, both manufacturing and service, their own community development organizations. The field of endeavour is unlimited. A broad spectrum is before us. It stretches before us. I am positive your respective Governments would cooperate with us. We would be limited only by our ingenuity. The Goans could own institutions on the national and international scene. These companies could be organized by community groups of Goans, or by individual Goans banding together. Some individuals have done this, on a moderate scale, and I want to applaud their achievements. But too many have done too little. They have not made New Beginnings.

I will venture to give you two examples. Five hundred Goans with \$10,000 each in

several different non-Goan banks earn 6% on their bank deposits. The deposits aggregate to \$5million and earn \$300,000 a year. If these deposits were in a Goan bank, which the depositors own and control, they could earn \$5000,000 or more a year. In fact, five hundred Goans give away \$200,000 and more of our money to others every year for so many years. In ten years they have given away \$2.25 million.

In another example, five hundred Goans with \$10,000 each could be owning, besides their own homes, \$20 to \$30 million worth of prime real estate in one country or in different parts of the world instead of \$5 million in cash deposits. I repeat \$20 to \$30 million. Conservatively, this could grow at the rate of \$1 to \$2 million very year. We all accept that there is a difference between \$10,000, on the one hand, and \$5 million and \$20 to \$30 million on the other. What a tremendous scale of socio-economic sense of accomplishment this would generate! We can work wonders with intelligent leverage. Together, we could provide many more avenues to success. These projects call for much effort and toil, but we can achieve them.

We need dreamers. Dreamers preceeding with realism can achieve what some at the outset would brand an unachievable. This is where success is. When we sit back in the past, we are not preparing ourselves for the giant step forward, psychologically, emotionally or mentally. The message to Goans is loud and clear – Take control of your future, even if you have not done it before. Stop drifting. We stand at the cutting edge of change. There are frontiers to be crossed. But we must make New Beginnings today.

Take a good hard look at some of the non-Goan people around us. Reflect on their achievements in the socio-economic field. They are racing against time to get to the top. We are not inferior to them in any way. In some respects we are admittedly superior, and in others they excel. But we have kept our prowess largely subdued, dormant and unused.

We need, and we have in our midst, community leaders with vision, leaders with ambition and with drive. We need leaders who provide positive reinforcement. In the last few days Canadian Goans have provided us magnificent examples of leadership and performance. The leaders cannot lead unless a sizeable segment of the community responds to their call and cooperates with them. We need to re-set our priorities, both as individuals and as a community. We need to be alert to prespective happenings, trends and forecasts on world events, national and local events. We must always be posed to take socio-economic advantage to what is happening and anticipate what can happen around us. We can be more viable; we can be more enterprising.

Some in the community may tend to comfort themselves by saying that our children will do it all. Did other communities sit back and say that they would do little or nothing because they would wait for their children to go into action? Let us not let down our children. Let us continue, as we have done and are doing, to prod our children into educational preparedness and, above all, a strong sense of accomplishment.

How can we do better? How can we attain the peak of our potential? We are a different generation today, whether we are 7 or 70 years, 9 or 90 years. We are a different generation not only in our processes, habits and lifestyles, but in a greater degree economically. We live in different times. We live in a different society. Age is not a barrier. We live in a society that has never had the challenge it has today. The world around us has changed, and continues to change at a fast pace. Other people, not all people in the world, have changed their socio-economic endeavours and in their outlook. When we see the potential for development and growth around us, we must change course or adjust ourselves on the economic front to fit in with the times. We cannot lean back as observers. We cannot just be commentators. We cannot just be theorists. In the real challenge of life we cannot take a back seat.

Looking back over the last 30 years, let us search for that glimmer of hope to give us confidence and to take comfort in the community's intentions, drive, purpose and goals. Beginning with this Convention and the forum that the Convention has provided – Canadian Goans can be praised for this – you and I want to change selective aspects of

our past. We will do this not only single-handedly but with the help and support that Goans can muster under strong and vibrant leadership.

I urge you to sow seeds of New Beginnings. In time there are theories, concepts, plans, practicalities and achievable goals to be analyzed. Nothing is impossible if we passionately want it. You and I have met those who have been to the top. I know that Goans can achieve if they want to. I know our capability, our capacity. I know our intellect, our intelligence, our skill and power. I am making this point to encourage you all to attempt, to work smart, to work uphill, to strive. You will achieve. Everest is not beyond up. I am telling you this to give confidence to those who in all humility have some doubt about themselves in their own minds. Be armed with knowledge. Develop awareness and understanding. Formulate plans and strategies. Create a base if none exists. Expand your base. But this cannot be done without people willingly and enthusiastically wanting to be there. Develop the ability to agonize when failure and frustration are upon you. I am relating to you this as one who wants you to get there, and knows you can get there. With our enterprise, our ambitions, our reward-seekers, our risk-takers, our go-getters, we can succeed.

A question in the minds of many in the audience can be this. Maurice Gracias is from California, the San Francisco bay area. What has the Goan community in the greater San Francisco achieved, and in this community what has our speaker personally done? I was President of the Goan Institution from 1975-1978. During this period I was unsuccessful – I stress unsuccessful – in energizing the Goans to establish their own institutions in the economic field. This was despite the fact that I had Government approval for the community to expand into the socio-economic field. Community support to implement these plans was not forthcoming, despite several Goan public seminars I conducted. In their own wisdom, the Goans in the San Francisco area decided to pursue their economic goals as individuals. They have had good success.

When I failed in these attempts, I worked with others outside the community. To give two examples, we formed a banking company and an insurance company, both now operating successfully. These could have been parallel with Goan enterprises, but Goan interest was not there, except in a relatively small section of the community.

A sub-section of the small segment of the community I have referred to is this. I continue to hold seminars from time to time for Goans and non-Goans alike. The purpose of these seminars is to encourage attendees to benefit from the enormous array of economic, financial and estate planning opportunities that present themselves, and to upgrade performance and achievement in their personal, financial and estate affairs. These services have always been without fee, although there are costs involved. Attendees incur no cost or obligation. Attendance has not been overflowing. It has been less than moderate, but the attendees are consistently the same people time after time.

Another avenue that I have pursued is a financial planning, estate planning and investment group. This is again a Goan and non-Goan group working together. Again, group members pay no fees and incur no costs or obligations. I organized this group and I have presided over the group during its six years of existence. Much is accomplished. We listen to presentations and research papers. We share knowledge. We share experiences, both good and bad. We explore, plan and act upon related activities and interests in California and in other parts of the world. This group had grown to be exceptionally enthusiastic and knowledgeable, and has achieved much in several fields of endeavour.

Our group members own and control substantial income real estate. We are investors in the securities markets in several countries and continents. We have been extensively involved in estate planning and implementation in a wide, all-embracing spectrum. These are some of the group's activities. These group members have a vastly superior achievement record. These group members have a knowledge, skill and achievement level many times superior to the average American.

The group has been deliberately kept small during these initial years of existence,

in order to strengthen group foundations, to breed confidence, and to achieve in an atmosphere of congeniality.

Again, I respond to another question that may be recurring in your mind. Why is Maurice Gracias telling us this? The reason is to give you an indication of what is happening to a group of Goans in California, and to tell you that each of you can make these and other relatively small New Beginnings in your own communities, and then proceed to more ambitious major programs and projects I referred to earlier.

In each of our new homelands, some Goans have attained economic prominence. This may not be a large segment of the population. It could have been larger. The world's pie is big. It is growing. There is enough, and even more for everybody. Even at this never-too-late date, much can be done, much can be achieved if the will and the leadership among individuals and the community can be found and channelled for success.

Great things will happen before long. We stand on the brink of momentous times. We have been observing closely a world society for more than three decades. In future, we will have to be part of the world economy, not a national economy, regardless of the country we live in. Our primary concern in the years ahead will not be the American economy or the Japanese economy, but the global economy which will play even a greater and more decisive role in our personal lives. There are certain countries to watch closely in the world. They may be countries in which we have made our homeland – they may not be – but these particular countries will govern our economic future regardless of where we live.

So much is happening in the world around us. I am thrilled, I am excited at the opportunities that we can discover for ourselves, if we want to. "If we want to" is the crucial phrase. You and I and the Goan community can nibble at little things and stagnate and see others pass us by, or we can move on and up. I will be content if tonight I can ignite that all-important spark. You will be the one to keep the flame burning. Knowledge and expertise are the key elements. It is said that we are the product of our own thoughts. Think Big. Believe Big. Bring realism to bear on all this. Above all, believe in yourself. Let us gather together our faith in ourselves and in others around us. Faith is known to move mountains.

Before long, let each of our countries, our new homeland know that we possess socio-economic eminence that can contribute to the growth and progress of our new homeland. We may not be known now. We, Goans, must be masters of our own destiny. Goans can accomplish things that at one time seemed impossible. When we want to do something, we can. As an outstanding example, Goans in Canada, a group we are all proud of, organized this worldwide Convention, at times thought to be a seemingly Impossible Dream. We Goans sang many times before, and should keep on singing the well-known song of the 1940s, the song with the title "The Impossible Dream".

At this Convention, I am to sound a trumpet call, a loud bugle cry, to those Goans who know they can do better, to those Goans who open their minds and their souls to the whole wide world of opportunity, to those Goans who now possess or can generate within themselves the resolve to achieve at the highest level. To these Goans, second best will not be good enough.

Finally, let us dream, dream and dream. Without dreams we cannot achieve. Our problems, our successes, our failures, our doing too little will shape our future whether we come to speak of the 1990s or the twenty-first century. Those who quit are not winners. Goans are not quitters. Goans are winners.

I will conclude by thanking you all, each one of you, for being so attentive and so patient with me.

God bless you all.

ON BEING A GOAN WRITER

BY PROF. PETER NAZARETH

I was the first East African to have a play broadcast by the African Service of the B.B.C.; subsequently two of my radio-plays were also broadcast. None of the characters in the plays was Goan. When I returned from England to Uganda, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the famous Kenyan novelist who had been a student with me at Makerere University College and Leeds University, wrote to me that it was time I wrote a novel about Goans.

My problem was that I wanted to write a political, anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial novel about East Africa, not a novel about Goans living in a communal bubble. My solution was to write a novel narrated by a Goan who had grown up in East Africa and become a politician, telling his story while living in exile in London. He has a guilty conscience and feels the need to confess. The novel is therefore a dialogue with his conscience and the other characters are part of this dialogue. The title, *In a Brown Mantle*, is taken from T.S. Eliot's classic, *The Waste Land*, section entitled "What the Thunder Said."

My second novel, begun in Uganda and finished in Iowa City, was based fictionally on the Asian expulsion. The action again takes place in Damibia, an imaginary East African country. The General announces that "East Indians" have to leave the country by the next moon. (In real life, Idi Amin gave a deadline of 3 months, his announcement being made nine days after *In a Brown Mantle* was launched with full publicity. The novel was prophetic; and it pulled me out of Uganda by getting me a Fellowship at Yale). There was no need to have a Goan narrator because the expulsion throws everyone and everything together, the novel itself becoming frantic. The title, *The General is Up*, is taken from a poem by the late Nigerian poet Christopher Okigbo, *Elegy for Silit-Drum (With Rattles Accompaniment)*, section entitled "Path of Thunder".

Both novels were very male and I wanted to let a Goan woman tell her story. I called her "Rosie" because she is optimistic about the future, and I called the short piece "Rosie's Theme" because she is presenting a theme, as in music, that of survival. My maternal grandfather had settled in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya (where my mother was born) as a professional classical musician. He told me his story when I met him in 1960 because he wanted me to tell it some day. I had to tell it with music, but it would be *my* music. His story — "history" — was not an accumulation of facts: it was magical, held together by the spirit of the Goan woman, "her story." She talks of family connecting up the peoples of India, Malaysia, East Africa, England, the U.S., and Canada. She is full of contradictions, yet her mind keeps growing.

My African characters were composites of Africans I knew or pure creations of the imagination. When I turned to writing about Goans at the age of 27, I found I had to use real individuals as models: but the characters still became works of the imagination, partly because of the structure of the text. For example, the narrator of the first novel is named "Deo", which not only fits in with the Catholic symbolism of the novel but also suggests that he is God in the sense that he is creating the text (and "Deo" is also "Dev", a

Hindu name). But Goans were not used to reading fiction about Goans and I received threats of being beaten up or sued by Goans who thought I was writing about them or their relatives and ruining their name. (No African reader has ever threatened me). Such Goans do not realize that fiction grows out of the creative imagination, not gossip. Lino Leitão of Montreal, who has had the eight stories published in *Short Story International*, has faced this problem too. In my case, since I want to undermine the reader's fixed perceptions and make him/her think, I use words which appear to be straightforward but which are not. The epilogue of the second novel makes the reader go back and ask who has written the novel, who has edited it, who has tampered with it, what part of the story is not said, how does the medium shape the message, etc.

It is difficult for a Goan to get his/her work published because publishers do not know what market to target. For example, Violet Dias Lannoy died in 1973, sixteen years before her novel, *Pears From the Willow Tree*, was finally published. If after a hard struggle a Goan succeeds in getting his/her work published, there are few Goan buyers. Goans assume writers own their books and can give out free copies or that the entire price of the book is the profit of the author instead of a maximum 5%. Take the case of the Goan anthology I edited for Michigan State University. I spent about \$500 of my own money on postage, raised \$1,900 in cash (C\$200 from the G.O.A.), and generated the equivalent of \$7,600 in the way of secretarial services and xeroxing facilities, a total of U.S. \$10,000. This does not include the value of my labour and costs incurred by Michigan State University. I received 3 complimentary copies of the first edition and 2 of the second. I do not receive any royalties. At \$12, each issue costs less than a tankful of gas — but for me to give out copies free, I have to buy them. How am I to live?

Peter Nazareth gave an expose of how his plays "*Brave New Cosmos*", "*The Hunter*" and "*X*" were broadcast by the BBC, London. He then went on to describe what led to his writing "*In a Brown Mantle*" followed by "*The General is Up*". Selected sections of each book were presented. Finding a gender-related void in his writings, his next book dealt with a Goan woman and was titled "*Rossie's Theme*". He had some useful ideas on imaginative writing and marketing strategies.

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"STATUS OF WOMEN CANADA, FORWARD-LOOKING STRATEGIES AND THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN"

BY KAY STANLEY

Cordinator, Status of Women Canada

It's a pleasure for me to be with you today to talk about issues of concern to women and of the ways we deal with them in Canada. I was particularly intrigued by the tremendous growth your Association has experienced since 1970. Your membership, I am told, has grown from around 50 to 1100 families today. This growth reminds me of the progress made by women in Canada since the creation of Status of Women Canada, the department I head. The rules of operation of G.O.A. also held my attention. They remind me of our own, as they appear in the Constitution of Canada. The fact that you have enshrined in your own written Constitution principles such as the division of powers and the Canadian Charter of Rights lead me to believe that we are meant to understand each other. Since 1970, your organization has tried to foster the passing of the best part of your culture to the next generation; to take charge of youth development and of senior's activities; to foster inter-ethnic understanding and to foster national ideals in our own community. These purposes are most praiseworthy and Canada is very proud to have such committed citizens.

As many of you will know, we Canadians live in the largest (and coldest) half of the North American continent. We are the second largest country in the world and we have a population of 25.8 million, 52 % of whom are women.

This evening, I would like to tell you something about the agency I head – its origins, its objectives, the kind of work we do and how we fit in to efforts under way throughout Canada to advance the equality of women.

Status of Women Canada got its start in 1971 as a direct result of one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the status of women. (I might add that this is one of the joys of living in a constitutional monarchy – you get to give wonderful titles to the activities of government).

The Canadian government established the Royal Commission in 1967, in response to intense pressure from women and women's groups who were concerned about the gap between their perception of the expanding roles of women and the responses of governments and society to those roles. I should remind you that 1967 was Canada's

centennial year, our 100th birthday, and there was a sense of exhilaration and the renewed sense of awareness across the country.

The Royal Commission was given the mandate to enquire into and examine the status of women in all aspects of Canadian society – a task that I should add was accomplished with remarkable thoroughness and dedication. During the course of its three years of deliberations, the Commission travelled all over the country, interviewed hundreds of women in their communities, and listened to briefs and reviewed submissions prepared by their respective organizations. The Commission's Report issued in 1970, was pretty blunt in its conclusions. Women, it said, were getting the short end of the stick in most of society's endeavours. Indeed in such crucial areas as economic affairs, education, taxation, adjudication of the criminal law, and participation in public life, the Commission declared that women were at a severe disadvantage compared to men.

To redress the imbalances it had identified, the Commission produced 167 recommendations aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for women in all areas of society.

One of the first actions taken by the Government of Canada in response to the Commission's Report was to give, for the first time, to a member of the Federal cabinet in 1971, the responsibility for status of women concerns. Today, we have a Minister with responsibilities for Women's Affairs in the cabinets of Canada's ten Provincial and Territorial Governments.

My agency, Status of Women Canada, came about as a result of the Royal Commission's recommendations calling on governments to set up co-ordinating bodies on Women's Issues. The Federal government's response was the establishment in 1971 of the Office of Coordinator, Status of Women, with the mandate of overseeing the implementation of the Royal Commission's Report as it related to matters within Federal government jurisdiction. That original mandate was soon extended to give the office the responsibility to review existing Federal legislation and to recommend changes to laws which discriminated against women. It was later expanded again to include reviews of legislative and policy proposals in the developmental stage. Similar offices were later established by the governments of the provinces and territories to deal with matters within their jurisdiction.

Another recommendation of the Royal Commission – the establishment of independent government-funded Advisory Councils on Women's Issues – resulted in the set up of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women in 1973. Similar independent Advisory Bodies are now in place in most of the Provinces and Territories as well.

The final item I'd mention in terms of the women's structures influenced by the Royal Commission is the National Action Committee on the Status of Women – a non-governmental body formed in 1972 to serve as the umbrella organization for Canada's many local, regional and national women's groups. Among the founders of the National Action Committee – or NAC – were many of the women who lobbied throughout the 60s for the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Encouraged by the Royal Commission's prudent and progressive report, NAC was set up to present a strong, unified voice, on behalf of grass roots women's groups, to ensure the implementation of the Royal Commission's Report.

Today, NAC is an association of over 560 women's organizations, representing over 3 million Canadian women. Its brief interests cover the broad spectrum of issues of concern to women, and it is most active in lobbying for positive action on these issues. You will be interested to know that NAC's day-to-day operations are funded by the Government of Canada. Through a special Women's Program of the Department of the Secretary of State, Federal Government assistance to this organization amounts to over \$600,000 per year or 70%, of NAC's total budget.

The foregoing, then, should give you an idea of the sort of structures – the machinery if you will – that is in place in Canada to deal with the concerns of women.

In a nutshell, Status of Women Canada's job is to provide coordination and advice to our Ministers and to other Federal Government Departments on all matters within Federal jurisdiction that affect Canadian women.

A major part of our work is policy analysis and development. As mentioned earlier, it's our job to examine Government proposals, policies and programs to assess their impact on women. Naturally, this involves analyzing programs and policies geared specifically to women. But we also look at policies and proposals that have a more general intent, because their impact on women can be very different from their impact on men. What we aim for is maximizing the positive benefits, proposals and policies have for women, and minimizing – ideally eliminating – any adverse effects.

Status of Women Canada works closely with other Federal Government departments; we work with the governments of the Provinces and Territories; we also work with the Governments of other nations and with international bodies, such as the United Nations, in cooperative efforts to improve the situation of women world-wide.

Our international activities have an important impact on the work we do at home. For example, Canada played a key role in the development of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the advancement of women, or FLS. The FLS was the document adopted by consensus by all 157 countries attending the United Nations World Conference on Women which took place in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985 to mark the end of the International Decade for Women.

The FLS highlights many issues of concern to women around the world and provides a comprehensive set of recommendations for governments to follow in promoting change in all aspects of women's lives. The strategies also provide a benchmark for women's groups to use in evaluating Federal Government action to advance the status of women.

Every year since 1985, Status of Women Canada has produced a set of fact sheets which outline the progress the Federal Government has made in implementing the FLS in Canada. We are also in the process of preparing a report which will be submitted to the United Nations early next year. This report will be used by the U.N. to review and evaluate the degree to which we have used the FLS to improve the status of women in Canada.

The measures in the FLS also complement our activities related to another international document: the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. This Convention, a legally binding document which has now been signed by 94 countries, established legal protection for the rights of women on an equal basis with men, and ensures that women have legal protection against discrimination in Canada. Canada ratified the Convention in 1981. Since then, we have submitted two reports on its implementation to the United Nations – the first in 1983 and the second in January 1988.

It has been 18 years since the Royal Commission on the Status of Women issued its report. The changes that have occurred in the situation of Canadian women since that time have been nothing short of remarkable.

Today, 54% of all Canadian women are in the labour force. You can compare that to the 39% of women who worked outside the home at the time the Royal Commission issued its report. Today, women are 43% of Canada's work force. In fact, in Canada today, women are entering the labour force at a rate that is one of the highest in the developed world. If you look specifically at women of working age in Canada – those between the ages of 20 and 64 – their labour force participation rate is 65%.

As the role of women in the work force has changed, so have Canadian families. When the Royal Commission began its work, nearly two-thirds of the families in Canada consisted of a breadwinner-husband and a wife at home with or without children. Today, that pattern is followed by fewer than one in six Canadian families. In fact, 62% of Canadian mothers with children under 16 are currently in the paid labour force.

I'll throw out a couple of other figures to round out this statistical profile of women

in Canada today. Last year, 51% of the students enrolled in Canadian universities were women, and women now own and/or operate one-third of small businesses in Canada. That ratio is just around doubled within the last decade; moreover, Canadian women entrepreneurs are showing no signs of slowing down.

It's obvious that women have made some strategic gains since the days when even a mention of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women sent shivers down a politician's spine. Is it still necessary, then, to have a government department, like mine, devoted to improving the status of women? Theoretically, Canadian women should be steaming full speed ahead. In reality many of them aren't.

Although women are close to becoming half the country's work force, 58% of Canadian women, employed outside the home, work in low-paying clerical, sales and service job ghettos. The average wages of a woman working full-time in Canada amount to just 66 cents for the dollar men earn.

And although the majority of Canadian women have jobs outside the home, most of the burden for housekeeping and the care and nurturing of children still falls disproportionately on women's shoulders. In fact, a study done in 1987 by the Canadian Advisory Council on the status of women showed that in Canada, married women employed in the labour force also work an average of 35 hours a week in the home. Husbands of the women in the paid labour force spend just 11 hours working in the home, while it's ten hours for the husbands of women who are full-time homemakers.

In Canada, Federal and Provincial Human Rights Codes say you can't deny a woman a job simply because she's a woman. So far, so good, - in principle. In reality, though, many Canadian women face substantial barriers to achieving their full potential in the workplace - or anywhere else.

On the job, stereotyped attitudes and subtle, sexist biases can effectively bar women's advancement or promotion. These attitudes can range from the barnacled old notion that the jobs women do aren't worth as much as the jobs men do - all the way to outright sexual harassment.

Many of the occupations women traditionally choose are poorly-paid dead-end jobs. And when training or upgrading opportunities come around, women are often overlooked in favour of their male counterparts. Many women find themselves between a rock and a hard place in trying to juggle their careers and their family responsibilities. And there are other influences outside the workplace that can play a part in stymieing the advancement of women - factors like a lack of quality, dependable child care or a lack of adequate support systems for the growing numbers of single parents - and 86% of them are women - who are struggling to provide a livelihood and a home for their families on their own. Why are they struggling on their own? Well, it's been estimated that nationwide, the default rate on court-authorized support order payments has been in the order of 60 to 80 per cent in Canada.

Furthermore, it is only within the last decade that we have faced up to the fact that one in ten Canadian women is subject to physical, mental or emotional abuse from her husband or partner. Or consider this: even though it's been seventy years since women won the vote in Canada, only 10% of the Members of our House of Commons and 12 1/2 per cent of the Members in our appointed Senate are women. By the same token, just 7% of our judges are women, and only 1% of the directors sitting on the Boards of Canada's corporations are women.

Those are the kind of challenges facing Canadian women today. To truly fulfill our mandate, Status of Women Canada -and our Minister, Barbara McDougall - must be at the forefront in dealing with these challenges. We recognize that in Canada today, women are still running up against barriers; these barriers may be less obvious than they were when the Royal Commission was set up 20 years ago, but they're just as real.

What's different in Canada today, I think, is public attitude - the public perception towards women's aims and desires. It has finally been realized that it makes sense economically, socially and politically, to pay attention to issues of concern to women.

Governments have to come to realize that. So has the public at large.

After all, when women do not receive a fair return, when they do not have equal opportunities to contribute, everyone loses. For the economy, it means lost opportunities and less than optimum productivity. For society, it is a denial of social justice for which we all share the responsibility. In Canada, we've come to the realization that these are costs we, as a nation, cannot afford. We've come to the realization that we simply cannot continue to under-utilize the skills and talents of half our country's population. In Canada today, issues of particular concern to women are front and centre on the agendas of every level of government. And I'd have to say it's been largely the sheer will and determination of Canadian women that got them there.

I think that's because the spirit of the suffragists never died in Canada. Having achieved the Federal franchise for Canadian women in 1918, women and their organizations transferred their energies into other areas of social activism towards the promotion of temperance, better health care, and end to child labour, the enactment of occupational health and safety laws and minimum wages.

During the two World Wars, Canadian women proved they were willing and able to perform jobs previously reserved for men. With that experience, Canadian women refused to look back.

In keeping with the social evolution present in the 60s referred to as the "Women's Liberation Movement", they succeeded with their agitation for a Royal Commission on the Status of Women. We saw blatantly discriminatory laws purged from our statute books in the 1970s, and in the 1980s. Confidence in their abilities and a strong unity of purpose brought Canadian women of all ages, backgrounds and political persuasions together in a cross-country campaign to have equality rights entrenched in the Canadian Constitution. Today, all Canadians benefit from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms enacted in 1982 which provides guarantees of equality before the law, regardless of sex, colour or national origin.

Another gauge of how far women's issues have progressed in terms of their public acceptance in Canada is the fact that during the last Federal election campaign in 1984, one of the three nationally televised hour-long debates among the party leaders was devoted exclusively to issues of concern to women. I'd also mention that this debate was organized by the Women's Organizations within Canada's three major political parties, and by the National Action Committee, which should give you an idea of the cachet possessed by Canadian Women's Groups.

Women have indeed become a formidable social, economic and political force in our country, and women's issues have secured a pre-eminent position on government agendas. The pace of Federal Government action on women's issues has accelerated rapidly in recent years. We've never been busier at Status of Women Canada, but it's a level of activity we whole-heartedly welcome. Now that we've finally succeeded in getting our issues on the public agenda, we sure are not going to complain about being busy.

I'd like to give you an idea of the initiatives the federal Government has undertaken on issues of concern to Canadian women since coming into effect in September 1984. Employment Equity legislation was passed into law in 1985. This program promotes equality of opportunity in the workplace for women and other target groups. It covers all employers with more than 100 employees - both private and public - under Federal jurisdiction, such as banks and telecommunications and transportation companies bidding on Canadian government contracts to subscribe to Employment Equity as a condition of their bid.

Last December, the Federal Government announced the National Child Care Strategy, which injects \$6.4 billion in Federal funding over the next seven years towards the development of a comprehensive child care system for Canada. A substantial part of the strategy is a cost-shared program involving the provinces which aims to create 200,000 new child care spaces in Canada.

Federal-Provincial efforts are also under way on a labour force strategy for women, which incorporates training measures and measures to integrate work and family responsibilities. These efforts, incidentally, have been undertaken at the direction of Canada's First Ministers – that is, our Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Brian Mulroney, and the Provincial Premiers, and that's an indication of how issues related to women are being dealt with at the highest levels of decision-making in our country.

Additionally, Canada's Divorce Act has been reformed; and legislation has been enacted to strengthen the enforcement of court-authorized support orders by providing access to information in government data banks to assist in locating defaulting spouses, and by permitting the garnishment of pensions, income tax refunds and other federal payments. New laws came into force in January that address the sexual abuse and exploitation of children. Legislation dealing with pornography is currently before the Parliament.

In early June, the government announced \$40 million in new federal funding for a variety of initiatives that deal with family violence, including the creation of new shelter spaces for battered women and their children, and additionally support for preventive measures and research. So we are moving ahead on this very complex area.

In 1985, amendments were made to Canada's Indian Act which finally abolished the decades-old discriminatory clause that stripped native women of their Indian status upon their marriage to a non-native.

There have been a host of reforms made to Federally regulated Pension Programs to equalize benefits for women and men. Initiatives are under way to expand the role of women in the Canadian Armed Forces, including a process to assess the participation of women in combat roles.

And finally, unprecedented numbers of women have been appointed to positions of influence and decision-making throughout the government – its Boards and Commissions, the Judiciary, the Diplomatic Corps and to the most senior levels of the Public Service.

I think it's fair to say that the status of women in Canada has never been better. We've achieved a great deal over the last decades, by the same token, we still have a long way to go. Historically, women have always been on the leading edge of social reform in Canada. Today women also represent a significant economic force. Canadian women know their aspirations are just .. and nothing – and no-one – can turn them aside. At Status of Women Canada, we believe Canadian women will achieve the equality they deserve because they have the courage, the determination and the ability that's needed. We're committed to that ideal, and we're determined to continue our efforts to achieve for Canadian women the fullest of opportunities to demonstrate their potential.

In closing, may I add a few words of encouragement to each of you as you strive to make a difference within your own lives, your communities and your countries. Change, evolution and progress are achieved only through the efforts of individual women and men working together in common cause.

HUMAN RIGHTS

BY RAJ ANAND

Chief of Human Rights Commission

As I was born not too far from Goa, in New Delhi, your families and mine share the multicultural heritage of the Indian sub-continent.

Taking pride in one's past is one of the goals towards which the Ontario Human Rights Commission has dedicated its efforts – that all of the people in Ontario, of whatever racial, religious, socio-economic or cultural background will be made to feel part of the Canadian community, and that each has a strong contribution to make to the development and well-being of our Province.

The history of the advancement of Human Rights and Race Relations in Ontario has not been free of struggle. It is one filled with the bitter memories of discrimination as well as the inspiring remembrances of steps forward. The goal has always been true equality of opportunity and the protection of the Civil Rights of every person in this Province. In truth, we have not yet arrived, but nor have we digressed.

The purpose of our Human Rights Legislation appears right in the code itself. It is to create "a climate of understanding and mutual respect for the dignity and worth of each person so that each person feels part of the community and able to contribute fully to the development and well-being of the community and province".

The overarching purpose therefore, is twofold: it is for the sake of the maximum personal enhancement of the individual and for the sake of the maximum development of the community. Thus, when an act of discrimination occurs, it is, to be sure, an act of injustice against a victimized individual, but it is also an act of moral vandalism against the larger community, tearing down what could be built up, diminishing what could be strengthened. We all suffer.

Respect for human rights in our society is an old tradition dating back to formative humanistic influences thousands of years old. But, as we all know, it is a fragile tradition. For example, only less than two thousand years ago, slavery still existed in Canada. Black people in Ontario have had to fight against job discrimination, segregated schools, segregated housing, and the denial of service in public places such as hotels and restaurants.

As we know, in the name of social progress and economic development, the civilizers of this land have ignored, and sometimes trampled, the rights of our native peoples. Or, equally, as we know too well, stereotyping according to any number of categories ranging from gender to ethnic group, from handicap to visible minority, still persists. Stereo- typing persists, so do prejudice and bias. And where prejudice and bias dwell, there too, in the dark unenlightened pathways of the mind, one will find discrimination and the denial of equality.

During the Second World War, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were subjected to social ostracism and individual humiliation. Successive waves of immigrants – at least, those

permitted entry – can still recall the verbal abuse, the vilification, in their struggle for acceptance. Many visible minority newcomers in more recent times can attest to similar experiences. It is also not long ago, that Jewish people were denied access to public beaches, or entry into hotels, or clubs, or universities. It is also not long ago, that the community turned a blind eye to those who could not see, or turned a deaf ear to those who could not hear. Being disabled meant being disintitiled.

My purpose of raising these examples is not to show how great have been the sins of our society. It is simply to make the point that even we, a progressive, compassionate, decent society by any of the highest standards in the world, have had a record of shame.

The tradition of action in the field of Human Rights in Ontario dates back to 1973 when Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, an out-spoken opponent of slavery, passed the British Empire's first anti-slavery decree. In the years following the enactment of that legislation, Ontario provided sanctuary for more than 40,000 runaway slaves from the United States. Some people consider this law to be the original foundation of today's Human Rights Code. It preceded by 41 years, the Imperial Emancipation Act, and by a full 71 years, Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Declaration.

The Religious Freedom Act of 1851 granted legal recognition of equality among all religious denominations in Ontario and helped establish the cultural foundation for the acceptance of the wide variety of religions practised today in Ontario.

Yet, it was not until 1944 that the first Human Rights Statute of the modern era was passed. The Ontario Racial Discrimination Act prohibited a publication or broadcast indicating an intention to discriminate on the basis of race or creed. This Act preceded the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by 4 years. That Declaration was adopted on Dec. 10, 1948 – a date currently recognized and celebrated as International Human Rights Day. It marked the first time that nations of the world spoke, essentially with one voice, to proclaim the fundamental importance and centrality, world- wide, of human rights. Yet, over the years, we have heard the fracturing of that unison, and have witnessed the violation of human rights committed by whispering nations.

Twenty six years ago Ontario became the first jurisdiction in Canada to formally recognize the moral, social and economic consequences of discrimination. It enacted a comprehensive Human Rights Code and created a Human Rights Commission to enforce it. The Ontario Code and Commission served as the catalysts for human rights initiatives, and in some cases, legislation, across the country.

The Commission was created to secure and advance the principle of equality in dignity and rights for all people, to encourage an understanding and compliance with the act, and to develop educational programs designed to eradicate discrimination.

The first Ontario Human Rights Code prohibited discrimination in signs and notices, public accomodation, services and facilities, employment and trade union membership on the grounds of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry and place of origin.

In 1975, the Commission was reconstituted as a public body of private citizens. The community, race and ethnic relations unit was established by the Commission in 1976, specifically designed to prevent and reduce community tensions and conflicts through education and mediation.

In that same year, the Commission undertook its first major review of the Code which resulted in the writing of *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*. Many of the recommendations were implemented either as Commission policies or incorporated into an entirely new code which was proclaimed as law in June 1982 – twenty years after the enactment of the original Ontario Code. To give greater focus and place greater emphasis on issues of race relations, a Race Relations Commissioner was appointed in 1979. In that same year, the Race Relations Division was created to resolve racial disputes in the community and to develop long-term educational and preventative strategies.

Today, complaints of racial discrimination constitute a significant part of the Commission's caseload. Of the 2,000 complaints we received last year, 21 percent involved race or colour, ethnic origin or creed.

On June 15, 1982, the New Ontario Human Rights Code was proclaimed. It broadened considerably the mandate and the responsibilities of the Commission and prohibited discrimination in the following social areas: employment, accommodation, contracts, goods, services and facilities, union membership, vocational association, self-governing professions and employment agencies. The grounds upon which discrimination was prohibited were extended. They now were: race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, age, marital status, family status, handicap, receipt of public assistance and record of offences, harassment on any ground, but particularly sexual harassment, was also prohibited.

The amendments have allowed the Commission to deal with discrimination upon the grounds of sexual orientation, pregnancy, accommodation for people aged 16 and 17, and for people with children, sex discrimination in sports, and the lack of physical access for people with disabilities. The final grouping of the 1986 amendments dealing with the duty to reasonably accommodate was proclaimed into force on April 18, 1988.

The significance of the Proclamation is simply this: the special needs of any person must now be accommodated unless doing so would impose undue hardships on the provider of the service, or goods, and so on. Denying a disabled person, for example, access to goods, services, facilities, accommodation or employment, because of the disability, is now illegal. Having regard to the fact that about half of the employment discrimination cases related to the issue of handicap, these amendments should have a major impact on the life of disabled persons and on the life of the community in general.

With the coming into force of the Charter, we have entered into a new era in human rights. We may expect, and indeed the courts are reporting, many landmark decisions concerning human rights in all areas of society.

One recent case was that of Theresa O'Malley against Simpson-Sears, a full-time employee of Simpson-Sears when she became a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Because of her faith, she could no longer work on Saturdays. But her employer informed her that she would be discharged if she did not work on Saturdays. She accepted an offer from the employer of part-time work but entailed a reduction in earnings and fringe benefits. Ultimately, Mrs. O'Malley filed a complaint against Simpson-Sears alleging discrimination in employment on the basis of creed. The matter was ultimately heard by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Its decision has enhanced the stature and the breadth of Human Rights Legislation across the country. The Court ruled that Human Rights Legislation is of a special nature and should be given an interpretation which will advance its broad purposes as set out in the preamble to the Code. The purpose of the Code is not to punish the discriminator, but rather to provide relief for the victims of discrimination. It is the result or the effect of the action which is significant for Human Rights Legislation.

Since a specific intention to discriminate is not a necessary prerequisite for a finding of discrimination, the Court decided that it could consider adverse effect discrimination, that is, systemic discrimination, as a violation of the Code. In a case involving adverse effect the Court held that the offending employer rule is not necessarily struck down. Its effect upon the complainant must be considered. If the objective of the Code is to be achieved, some accommodation must be required from the employer for the benefit of the complainant, short of undue hardship.

Not long after the O'Malley decision, in the case of *Action Travail des Femmes* against CNR, the Court reaffirmed its strong, unambiguous language regarding the special nature of Human Rights Legislation. The Court upheld an order of a tribunal convened under the Canadian Human Rights Act which ordered CNR to undertake a special Employment Equity Program to ameliorate the historical economic disadvantage suffered by women employees. The Court therefore, upheld the validity and the propriety of Employment Equity Programs, or affirmative action plans, as a remedial instrument in the attempt to bring about, for the disadvantaged in the community, true equality of employment.

Before moving on to a brief discussion of common discrimination issues, I wish to make one final point about the Code. The Human Rights Code has primacy over all other provincial statutes. Where a provision in any act or regulation purports to require or authorize conduct that is a contravention to the Code, the Code prevails unless the Act of Regulation specifically exempts itself from the application. In addition, the Code binds the Crown and every agency of the Crown.

This means that there is a presumption, in Ontario, that all private and official behaviour must conform to the requirements of the Human Rights Code.

More than eighty per cent of our caseload deals with discrimination in employment, and that caseload is not insignificant – some 2000 formal complaints, and 60,000 inquiries last year alone. It is not surprising that it should be thus. Employment lies at the very centre of our lives. It is the means by which we provide shelter and sustenance for ourselves and our families. It is the means by which we define ourselves in relation to others, but more important, it is the means by which we define ourselves in relation to ourselves – that delicate fulcrum on which balances our self confidence, our self-esteem, our sense of worth. The Human Rights Code and the Commission which enforces it, attempt to ensure that every person has as true and as meaningful an equality of opportunity to obtain employment.

Although we are not always sure what equality means, most of us have a good understanding of what is fair, and what is happening in our workplaces to many members of racial and ethnic minorities, our native community, and the handicapped in Ontario today, is not fair.

Equality means that no one is denied opportunities for reasons unrelated to inherent ability. It also means equal access, from arbitrary obstructions. Discrimination often represents an arbitrary barrier that stands between an individual's ability and his or her opportunity to demonstrate it.

It is not relevant whether discrimination may be motivated by an intentional desire to thwart a person's potential, or whether it is the unintentional by-product of neutral practices or systems. If the barrier is affecting certain groups in a disproportionately negative way, it is an indication that the practices that led to this adverse impact may be discriminatory, and warrant further examination. The Supreme Court of Canada has not settled this principle.

Members of ethnic and racial minorities across the province regularly approach our Commission with their concerns. They are disturbed and frustrated by what they identify as token and all too frequently, condescending attitudes and approaches to their efforts to join the "main-stream".

They complain of the lack of adequate language and skill training for immigrants, bias-free mechanisms for determining the validity of foreign credentials and experience and they complain of what they perceive as the excessively vigilant regard for the validity of Canadian experience as a job requirement. They question whether the school system is fulfilling its responsibility to ensure that minorities – visible or otherwise – are not being streamed routinely into certain types of courses, leading to low-paying job ghettos.

The obstacles in the way of the historically disadvantaged are so pervasive and self-perpetuating that they cannot be overcome without intervention. One form of intervention to redress systemic discrimination is, of course, employment equity. Since 1982, the Commission has had the power, and the responsibility to implement Employment Equity Programs. The time is similarly at hand for the Government to introduce mandatory Employment Equity Programs for its own employees, the wider public service and for the private sector.

Ontario is a province rich in resources. No one would argue the importance of fully utilizing the many and varied natural resources which are its blessing. Does not the same reasoning apply to our human resources? Only when all segments of our population have equal opportunity to develop their abilities and to live as fully meaningful lives as possible will Ontario realize its tremendous potential.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE GOAN FAMILY: A MENTAL HEALTH PERSPECTIVE

BY FELIX ALMEIDA

ABSTRACT/SYNOPSIS;

This presentation by Mr. Felix Almeida provided a theoretical model for the assessment/understanding of the unique characteristics of interpersonal relationship patterns within the Goan psyche, as determined by culturally sanctioned child-rearing practices. Set within a normative family-structure, the model was presented within the contexts of socio-cultural and migratory factors.

By way of illustration, a fictitious clinical case example served to highlight several factors typically associated with the immigration to Canada of a Goan family. Stresses that accrue from this experience were enumerated:

- family crisis related to adolescent defiance of Goan cultural values
- the overinvolved mother/peripheral father syndrome
- intergenerational difficulties between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law
- racism, both institutional and societal
- the vulnerability of Goans to racism by reason of "playing white", at the expense of their own heritage.
- inter-racial dating
- the undermining of the Goan parent by the Canadian school system

By way of the denouement of the foregoing case example, cultural derivatives from the Sanskritic and the (Portuguese) colonial heritage of the Goan were discussed. Following this, a Western model of psychological development (Margaret Mahler's Object Relations theory of "Symbiosis, Separation-Individuation") was adapted to the reality of the Goan experience.

The need was then discussed for compensatory strategies on the part of the Goan family, for coping with different sets of forces that impinge upon the acculturation of Goan children raised in Canada. In the Canadian context, Goan parents preface, are

called upon to play a relatively minimal role in the acculturation of their children, as compared to the preponderant combined force of the school system and the mass media here in Canada. All too often, colonial subjugation has predisposed the Goan parent to benignly and dependently abrogating his/her parenting role to a system which by reason of being white, is misperceived as being somehow appropriate. Implications for the Goan parent of this maladaptive stance of their non-white children who are breaking new ground in a societal system that is historically all too accustomed to catering predominantly to the needs of a white population. Instances of racial torment of their children call for decisive action on the part of Goan parents seeking redress right from the upper echelons of school boards.

In conclusion the ensuing discussion focussed upon the implications for a presentation of this nature understanding of Goans, thus enhancing the quality of service delivery to a Goan clientele in the mental health and social spheres. Furthermore, this presentation was evaluated as being of significance to Goan audiences as well (e.g. the general body of the G.O.A.) so as to bring about consciousness-raising with respect to the improvement of family life for goans in Canada, and also to facilitate a process of assessing challenges posed by the context of our new Canadian host/adoptive society.

DEBATE

The Ontario Institute For Studies in Education (OISE) provided the venue, where on August 16, 1988 a debate/ symposium was held in conjunction with the International Goan Convention activities. Participants in the debate/symposium development were:

For the motion: Fred Pinto, Lola Vaz, Rochelle Mathias,
Patrick Mendes

Against the motion: Elma Lobo, Joey DeSouza

The topic discussed was:
"Resolved That Young Goans Have Lost Their Ethnic Identity"

Opening remarks and introductions were made by Rodney D'Silva who with Ray Digby organized the event. Following the introductions, Alan D'Souza took over as the moderator/facilitator for the proceedings. Each speaker provided his/her own platform in the opening address after which the audience input was invited.

Members of the panel who spoke for and against the motion provided input on a broad spectrum of issues ranging from what is Goan – a historical perspective to what constitutes Goan ethnic identity within a Canadian milieu. Panellists for the motion brought forward a number of significant issues; the most provocative ones are listed below:

- parents began to lose some aspects of their ethnic identity and now youth are just continuing the process.
- have adults presented Goan youth with enough information?
- have Goan youth ever had an ethnic identity – complete lifestyles have changed, identity has been lost in this change?
- do Goan youth feel they have lost their identity through choice or through ignorance?
- Goan youth do not come in contact with as many Goan friends as their parents did.

Panellists 'against' the motion contended that:

- Goan youth still have the same way of thinking, hold the same values and live the same lifestyles as those in generations before them, thus identity is not lost.
- Goan youth are like chameleons – they adapt yet they are still the same inside
- parents teach by example.
- youth committees are starting up everywhere – how can one say that culture is lost?
- all ethnic groups face the same dilemma but Goan youth by their very background handle change very well.

Spirited discussions ensued as members of the audience had ample opportunity to

respond to the points made above. Judging from the tone of the issues raised the area of focus seemed to shift from "Have Goans lost their ethnic identity" to ways and means by which that identity, however nebulous in the minds of some, can be preserved.

In the final analysis, it was the audience that had to be convinced "for" or "against" the question debated. The consensus was that both sides had presented their arguments well and eloquently, and had aroused equal interest from both perspectives.

PART III
FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AND
CONCLUSIONS

NATIONAL NETWORKING SESSION

Convenor: Ivan Araujo

Introduction:

Zulema de Souza, Chairman of the International Goan Convention, extended a very warm welcome to the delegates and guests, both from Canada and from overseas.

Ivan Araujo, member of the Steering Committee, stated that it would be very appropriate to have a session on National Networking during this International Conference to address the needs of Goans in Canada. Then he introduced the session moderator, Peter Fernandes, from Edmonton.

Peter Fernandes introduced the topic for discussion, and broke the topic into segments. It was suggested by Peter Fernandes that the main thrust of the National Networking should be to bring together Goan Associations in Canada, under an umbrella organization, so that this organization could deal with governmental agencies on behalf of all Goans in Canada. Through a Canadian Goan Association, it would be easier to obtain representation on government task forces and committees, and have access to funding and other support provided by a number of agencies, e.g. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), Canadian Universities, and so on. It was also mentioned that it would be necessary for this National Organization to develop relevant data, e.g. demographics, senior citizens, geographic distribution, and so on.

Presentations by Associations and Delegates:

The next part of the National Networking session was devoted to presentations by individual local Goan Associations. The format included a brief statement on what a particular Association was doing at the local level and expectations from the proposed National Organization. We began with presentations from the West coast of Canada.

Violet Viegas, from the Vancouver Association, felt that it would be very important to obtain government funding to continue activities of their Association, and felt that the National Organization could help them.

Louisa Rodrigues from Calgary suggested that at present the Calgary Association was somewhat a part of the National Canadian Organization of people of Indian origin

(NACOI) and suggested that it would be a good idea to belong to a National Organization of Goans.

Maxine Fernandes of Edmonton talked about how she perceived the Goan Association as a mechanism for keeping in touch with and sharing the Goan culture with all Canadians, and felt that the National Organization could do further work in this area.

Gilbert Dias of Winnipeg suggested that he would welcome a National Organization that would provide information on what was going on among Goans in other centres.

John Nazareth of Toronto felt that a National Organization should look at a wider definition of "GOAN", enlarge membership, and provide services to all people of Goan origin.

Tony Rodrigues of Hamilton, Ontario felt that a National Organization could improve our knowledge about Goans in Canada through newsletters, student exchanges, and so on.

Leslie Sequeira explained that coming from a small town in Nova Scotia, he would like to hear about things going on in the rest of Canada through the National Organization.

Nick DeMello from Montreal suggested that a National Goan Organization would be a good way of tapping into all grants that were available.

Nereus Rodrigues, also from Montreal, suggested that he would welcome the idea of a National Organization, but would want to ensure that autonomy of local Associations was respected.

After the lunch break, the seminar participants were asked to express their individual views regarding the proposed National Organization. These comments ranged from youth exchanges, assistance to senior citizens, national directory, travel services assistance, cultural promotions, lobby groups, and numerous other suggestions.

Conclusion:

The moderator at this point summarized the day's proceedings, the issues raised, the viewpoints expressed, and the possible conclusions to be considered by the participants.

As the final item on the agenda, it was agreed to conclude the session with relevant resolutions: The following resolutions were drafted, put, and unanimously approved:

- That we agree to affiliating ourselves with people of Goan origin. The purpose of such affiliation would be to promote the cultural, social, financial, welfare/identity of people of Goan origin on a national basis.

- That in setting up the national networking concept, the autonomy of the local Goan Associations be recognized.

- That the Toronto Goan Association be requested to initiate efforts in developing a framework for such national networking.

The session ended with a vote of thanks to the Moderator by John Noronha of the Toronto Goan Overseas Association.

ADAPTATION IN NEW ENVIRONMENTS

August 10, 1988

Delegates:

U.K.	Alvaro Collaco
Brazil	Joanne Mascarenhas
U.S.A.	Lino D'Silva
Australia	Anthony Machado
Canada	John Noronha
Hong Kong	Noreen Sousa

The group deliberated on common problems encountered by Goans in the process of integration in their new environments. They retraced the Western background of the Goan stemming from the Portuguese influence and followed the migratory pattern that eventually brought the Goan to his/her present habitat.

The discussion revealed that all had experienced a measure of difficulty in housing, employment and recognition of qualifications and experience and discrimination whether subtle or otherwise.

Despite some initial setbacks, Goans had adapted quite well and were making a valued contribution to the societies they lived in. Their future seemed assured.

INTERNATIONAL NETWORKING

"International Bridging" and *"Making Connections"* were two sessions scheduled under the ambit of International Networking.

INTERNATIONAL BRIDGING

Convenor: Al Mathias

It is indeed my honor and privilege to welcome you all to the International Goan Convention. This convention was the brainchild of our President, Mrs. Zulema de Souza, and today, that dream that she had, is reality. A reality that has brought us Goans, who have settled in different parts of the world, (brought us) together, to celebrate our common heritage, our common culture – that unique blend of attributes, that make us distinct as Goans.

In planning the festivities for the Convention, we also thought it fit for us to take time and do a little soul- searching together and formulate plans for the future. We know that many of you have ideas that you would like to put forward and discuss today. With that in mind, the format of this session will not be restricted. Our only constraint is time, and if we feel we need more time, I'm sure we can re- convene this week or next.

The G.O.A. of Ontario did not see fit to put forward a set of "aims and objectives",

and plans to achieve these objectives. Rather, we felt that we should afford delegates the opportunity to address this conference, to put forward their views and take part in discussions that will lead to the formulation of our objectives and plans for the future.

For our part, we would like to put forward briefly a few points for consideration, to start the discussion:

1. As Goans, we share a common culture, and a common heritage. Five hundred years of Portuguese influence has made a dent in our culture. We share in common – language, music, dance, customs, food and religion. Which of these can we pass on to future generations wherever we may have settled, and how?

2. Having settled in different parts of the world, what are the challenges that we face in the lands of our adoption? Are these common to us as Goans?

(Throw away the yoke of colonialism, not live in the past, participate fully in the economic, communal and political life of the country). What can we do to meet those challenges? What are our expectations for ourselves and our children?

3a. There are certain values that we hold dear to our hearts – values that we would like to pass on to our future generations:

- the sacredness and closeness of the family unit, including the extended family
- our close family ties, our regard for the elderly
- our honesty and integrity
- our strong desire to perform, and achieve, in the land of our adoption. We have

the ability to excel.

3b. We may also have needs or wishes for our youth:

- we need to help each other not only as Goans, but as Christians; we should maintain the good things of the past, and enrich them with the new
- we need to encourage Goans to move away from the “service mode” to the “business mode”; from being civil servants to being business entrepreneurs
- we may wish to lay the foundation for creating a wealthy Goan community

How can we achieve this?

4. Religion: As Catholics, we have realized that we are not a majority in Goa. In fact, it is said that the Catholic Goan, in Goa, is a diminishing breed and that, with the influx of non-Catholics, Goa will be transformed in a few years. The Catholic Goan seems to want to leave Goa.

What can, or should, we do to provide help to the Catholic Goan, to help maintain his culture?

5. And last, but not least, when we say that we are GOANS, what do we really mean? Do we mean a Catholic who comes from Goa, whose roots are in Goa? What image do we see in our minds when we say Goan? How different is the Catholic Goan from the non-Catholic Goan? Not forgetting that religion (and the various celebrations) is a vital factor that distinguishes us and has caused us to lead a different lifestyle, are there also differences in customs, language, music, food, sports, aspirations, etc.?

In formulating our objectives, we should, also, seriously consider this viewpoint.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to open the forum for discussion. I would like to call upon the delegates to present their views and concerns, discuss the issues we have raised, or put forward other ideas for consideration by this assembly.

A spirited discussion followed, with participants from Goa, Australia, U.S.A., U.K. and Canada presenting thoughts on initiatives that could foster International Bridging.

From a global perspective a number of suggestions were made relating to :

- an investment fund
- sharing talent and experience in technical areas
- community and soul-searching
- Goan writings, newsletters, seminars and literature
- organizational structure; Goan directory
- improved communications
- Youth Convention in Goa
- permanent Secretariat in Goa
- shedding the "crab mentality" (pulling each other down)

The session transmuted itself into four sub-sessions stemming from the deliberations:

- Structure of International Goan Organization
- Volunteer Technical Projects / Business Investment
- Academic Conference
- Youth Convention

STRUCTURE OF AN INTERNATIONAL GOAN ORGANIZATION

The group consisted of the following:

Convenor:	Anthony Machado (Australia)
Members:	Prip D'Souza (Canada), Eddie Rodrigues (Canada) Bruno Lopes (Canada), Aires Carvalho (U.K.), Herculano Dourado (Goa), A.J. Nazareth (U.K.), Pascoal Denis (Kenya), Francis De Goa (U.S.A.), Adolf D'Souza (Australia), May Denis (Kenya).

Report Outline:

Framework, mission, goals and objectives, strategies, Logistics (location, structure of Secretariat, membership, functions of Secretariat).

The International Networking Group received reports from a number of individuals and delegates on suggested ways in which a networking system could be

established for the benefit of Goans and Goan Associations on a world-wide basis. A working group was set up to discuss the method by which those ideas could be put into effect. The following is a report from the group after due deliberations.

Mission Statement:

The group recognized that initial consideration would need to be given to establish a mission statement for an organization involved in international networking. Accordingly, the group recommends as follows:

Mission:

To serve the needs of Goans through a corporate body established for sharing ideas and information.

Goals and Objectives:

The group took its goals and objectives from the International Goan Convention (1988) and restates them as follows:

1. To bring together Goans to strengthen the sense of community among them.
2. To establish social, educational, professional and cultural links among Goans.
3. To foster better understanding between Goans and the community at large.
4. To share with others our Goan sense of values, our industriousness in the workplace and our pride in home and family.
5. To respond to urgent community needs of Goans everywhere.
6. To preserve and enhance Goan identity and ethnicity.

Strategies:

While not precluding the development of other strategies that are in keeping with the goals and objectives aforesaid, the following strategies are recommended for the next five years.

1. To arrange and co-ordinate a convention of Goans at least once every four years.
2. To systematically arrange and co-ordinate the flow of information.
3. To co-ordinate emergency assistance as and when required.

Logistics:

Location: The Group recognizes the enormous voluntary infrastructure, support and experience gained by the Goans of Toronto, and for that reason it recommended that initially the proposed Body corporate be established as a Secretariat located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada so as to form a catalyst to all Goans at large. However, in recognition of the contributions of Goans in Goa and other countries where they have settled, the Group recommends that the Secretariat be rotated in a way to be determined at future conventions.

Membership: While the Group is not in a position at this stage to determine membership, it recognised that the Secretariat would work effectively through membership of: a. established associations/organizations. b. interested individuals.

The International Goan Convention (1988) is not a sufficient representative gathering of Goans worldwide, and therefore it is recommended that the interim Secretariat does communicate to all established Goan organizations through reasonable media and announcements the fact of its establishment.

Following such notice and at an appropriate time to be determined, the staffing structure of the permanent Secretariat shall be finalized.

Constitution and Rules: The initial task of the Secretariat shall be to set up a Committee to prepare a draft constitution and rules for consideration and adoption by the international membership at large.

Functions: At this point in time, the functions of the Secretariat are not exhaustively spelt out, and these will be worked out in the light of the final resolutions adopted at the end of the Convention. However, the Group recognizes that three other workshops established by the international networking sessions are to report back to the convention and their recommendations may form the Agenda in forthcoming years.

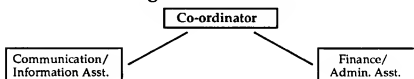
Funding: The workshop recognized the need for funding and recommends that:

- a. the Secretariat explores ways and means of funding its operations in the interim.
- b. more permanent arrangements for funding of the Secretariat's operations be incorporated in the Constitution when it is drawn up.

The following suggestion was offered by P. Denis:

Name of the Organization: The International Goan Networking Secretariat.
Legal Status: Non-profit organization.

Organizational Chart



STUDY GROUP MEETING

August 11, 1988, Trinity College

Participants:

Dr. Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes
Prof. Peter Nazareth
Dr. Olivinho Gomes
Joao da Veiga Coutinho
Vivien Dias
Dr. George Coelho

U.K.
U.S.A.
Goa-India
U.S.A. -
Canada
U.S.A.

The session was the brainchild of Dr. Coelho and stemmed from the International Networking session. The purpose of the think-tank was to evaluate the need to study Goan history and culture through Goan eyes and voices. The study was to delve into various expressions of Goan culture, such as music, song, architecture, dance and poetry, journalism and literature.

This led to a proposal to organize an academic conference, to review scholarly papers that would focus on the theme of Goan studies from a totally new perspective.

It was recognized that the participants would be able to contribute in the fields of their respective expertise.

The Academic Conference was tentatively planned for 1989.

BUSINESS AND TECHNICAL PROJECTS

Note of the deliberations on August 11, 1988 of the workshop appointed at the "International Bridging" session of the International Goan Convention, Toronto.

Panel: Mr. Alvaro Collaco (Convenor) – U.K.
Mr. Ronald Nazareth – Canada
Mr. Lamberto Gomes – Canada
Mr. Maurice Gracias – U.S.A.
Dr. Ambrose Athaide – Bombay (India)

Terms of Reference

1. It was agreed that the workshop was required to examine in greater depth the proposals accepted at the International Bridging session on August 10, 1988 to establish:
 - a. an International Goan Investment Fund for business investment in Goa by Goans worldwide.
 - b. some mechanism for enabling Goans worldwide to participate in technical/developmental projects in Goa.

2. With these objectives, the workshop considered the parameters within which it would be possible for the Goan community worldwide to operate; how this would be done; and the administrative and management structures that would be needed. It was recognized that this could only be done in outline during the workshop and that the details would evolve as further research was undertaken.

3. The workshop proceeded, nonetheless, on the basic assumption that, from the deliberations of the Toronto Convention so far, there would emerge an international body representing Goans worldwide and that this would require a small Secretariat to be set up possibly in Toronto. Any recommendations that emerged from the workshop would need therefore to link up with these likely developments.

Business Investment

4. It was noted that the proposal to establish an International Goan Investment Fund was subject to two fundamental conditions:

- a. that investment was to be in commercial and industrial projects in Goa
- b. that any investment would have, first and foremost, to meet normal business criteria including the repatriation of profits and adequate returns on money invested

5. It was agreed that for investment on these lines it would require the establishment of a company that would allow for the participation of Goans worldwide in its activities. This would be a company that traded "for profit" and although set up under the aegis of the International Goan body, would have to be a distinct entity for reasons of tax and shareholding. The main organization would be a charity and that status could not be compromised.

6. The share capital of the company would be raised from individual Goans and Goan bodies – a figure of CDN \$500 per share was tentatively suggested with an overall target of not less than CDN \$100,000

7. The workshop did not see the Secretariat, in addition to its other functions, being able to undertake the preparatory work for the establishment of the International Goan Investment Fund on the lines envisaged and it was felt therefore that a Working Committee was needed, possibly in Toronto, for this preparatory work and for the presentation of the formal documentation to the international body for approval. (At a joint meeting of the Convenors of all the workshops later on 11 August 1988 under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Zulema de Souza it was agreed that the Working Committee would be based in Western Australia and that it would report back to the Secretariat within 3 months or so of the termination of the Convention).

8. Aspects that the working Committee was asked to examine, in particular, were:
 - a. the registration of the Company in a country where shareholders derived the greatest benefits and facilitated worldwide Goan participation
 - b. laws in Goa and India relating to business investment from outside and their implications to the repatriation of profits
 - c. tax position in countries where, at least, large Goan communities existed and from which potential investors could be expected
 - d. appointment of an 'international' Board
 - e. drawing up of a draft of the Memorandum and Articles of Association for the Company and of a Prospectus

Voluntary Capital Projects

9. Various arguments had been advanced for participation by Goans worldwide in voluntary capital projects in Goa. These arguments had come both from representatives from Goa at the Convention and from other representatives and it had been stressed, time and again, that Goans who had emigrated to and prospered in other countries owed this to their motherland and to those back home.

10. It had been recognized, though, that apart from small contributions from individuals the bulk of any finance required for voluntary capital projects in Goa would have to come from the Goan organizations across the world and this would, in all likelihood, create a conflict in their members' priorities. Whilst some of these members would no doubt, wish that priority was given to financing voluntary capital projects in Goa, others would see, for example, the purchase of club premises in countries of their adoption as the greater need.

Technical Assistance

11. The workshop did not, therefore, see immediate prospects for financing voluntary capital projects in Goa, but agreed there was certainly the possibility of providing technical assistance for projects in Goa at minimal cost. In considering the implications of providing technical assistance the following points were made:

- a. the aim should be to provide the services of professional Goans from overseas during vacations or sabbaticals for projects in Goa where the need for such services had been demonstrated with costed budgets;
- b. training overseas should be sought for Goans in key positions through any sponsorship or awards that professional Goans worldwide were aware of;
- c. the needs of projects in Goa were to be co-ordinated and channelled through a "technical cell" to be established for this purpose in Goa;
- d. the international organization's Secretariat would periodically circulate these requirements to its affiliates and endeavour to match them with appropriate responses from the international professional Goan community and implement the technical assistance offers made;
- e. expenditure on such technical assistance from the international body's budget would be kept to the very minimum and cover, for example, insurance premia for professional indemnity or minor incidentals;
- f. selection of trainees from Goa should be fairly and strictly determined by the international Secretariat;

12. As technical assistance and voluntary capital projects would have to be treated as charitable activities and donations or contributions towards these would have to qualify for tax relief, it was agreed that these activities be handled quite separately from the commercial International Goan Investment Fund and that the responsibility for them be placed with the international Secretariat.

13. As and when technical assistance came to be implemented successfully and on a substantial scale, the Secretariat should review the position on voluntary capital projects in Goa and actively explore the possibility of the international body embarking on these.

14. Social projects, it was felt, needed priority.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONVENTION

Workshop participants:

Adv. Herculano Dourado	- Goa
George Pinto	- U.S.A
Eric Coutts	- Toronto, Canada
Desmond Viegas	- Vancouver, Canada
Lola Vaz	- Toronto, Canada

Objectives:

1. To integrate the Goan youth
2. To bridge the identity gap
3. To preserve ethnic heritage

For organization purpose, the following regional breakdown was agreed to. Volunteers who agreed to be co-ordinators were indicated against each region.

India	Adv. Herculano Dourado
Australia	Maria Lobo
England	No volunteer
U.S.A.	George Pinto
Eastern Canada	Lola Vaz
Western Canada	Desmond Viegas

An office was to be established in Goa.

A tentative program was drawn up with a view to hosting a Convention in Goa in December, 1990 under the auspices of the Secretariat and all correspondence was to be conducted between Adv. Herculano Dourado and Lola Vaz.

Accommodation, funding and communication were deliberated upon, ways and means considered, and some preliminary conclusions agreed upon.

PLENARY SESSION HELD ON AUGUST 11, 1988

Present:

Convenors from each of the foregoing sub-committees and all participants who could attend.

After due deliberations, the following resolutions were passed at the meeting:

1. INTERNATIONAL NETWORKING

To set up an international body to be called the International Goan Organization (IGO) comprising Goan organizations and individuals worldwide.

That this corporate body shall combine the Goan community's collective international resources and identify common goals for the benefit of all Goans.

That as an interim measure IGO's Secretariat be established in Toronto.

2. GOAN STUDIES

An academic conference, on the theme "Goan Studies: New Perspectives" be held in late 1989, possibly in Toronto.

3. YOUTH

That the First International Goan Youth Convention be held in Goa in December, 1990.

4. INVESTMENT

An International Goan Investment Fund be established for business investment in Goa. A working party to examine the various aspects of establishing such a Fund and to make necessary recommendations will be based in Western Australia.

5. VOLUNTARY PROJECTS

Mechanisms be developed for the provision, initially, of technical assistance to projects in Goa and, later, the establishment of voluntary capital projects.

6. LANGUAGE

In recognition of Goa's statehood and its position at the heart of the Konkani homeland, the Government of India be asked to include Konkani immediately in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

7. RELIGION

Now that Goa is a full-fledged State within the Indian Union, the Vatican be asked to recognise its indisputable claims and to raise the Archdiocese of Goa to the Cardinalate at an early opportunity.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Convenor: Sharon de Souza

In an attempt to make the Goan community an economically strong group, this one day session was held on August 10, 1988. The aim of the session was to bring Goans who were interested in starting a business together with other Goans who were willing to offer their expertise and experience.

Several speakers addressed the audience. An advisory council was formed to serve as a channel through which potential business people could meet other Goans who could help financially or offer advice. The members of the advisory council are: Ayres Mascarenhas, Vernon Lobo and Sharon de Souza.

It was hoped that through future sessions the registrants would be able to 'Make Connections'. These sessions would cater to the topics that were identified by registrants. Only collectively, will the Goan community become a recognized financial force.

FORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL GOAN ORGANIZATION (I.G.O.)

Meeting of all convenors of the various sub-committees held on August 18, 1988

Present:

Alvaro Collaco (U.K.)	- Business & Technical Projects
Anthony Machado (Australia)	- Structure
Al Mathias (Canada)	
Zulema de Souza (Canada)	
Sella Mascarenhas-Keyes (U.K.)	- Study Group
Absent with apology Pascoal Denis (Kenya)	- Structure

-
-
1. The group decided (as was resolved in the 'Plenary Session') to name the organization **INTERNATIONAL GOAN ORGANIZATION**
 2. The structure of the Secretariat would be:
 - administrative Secretary (co-ordinator)
 - co-ordinator for Finance
 - member - Business and Technical Project Development
 - member - Youth
 - member - Humanities

The following people were nominated for the above positions:

Zulema de Souza	- administrative secretary/co-ordinator
Al Mathias	- co-ordinator Finance
Lamberto Gomes	- member, Business and Technical Project Development
Lola Vaz	- member, Youth
Felix Almeida	- member, Humanities

3. It was suggested that the Secretariat draw further rules re: fee structure, constitution, etc.
4. It was proposed that the Secretariat send out a communique to all Goan Organizations re:
Academic Conference 1989
Youth Convention 1990
5. The workings and outline on Business and Technical Projects would be initiated in Australia. Anthony Machado was to follow up and report within the next three months.

POST CONVENTION INCORPORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL GOAN ORGANIZATION

The I.G.O. was incorporated on September 13, 1989 with the following as objects of incorporation:

- a) To enhance the collective capacity of Goans to meet the social, economic, cultural, educational and community challenges that face Goans in Goa and in the lands of their adoption.
- b) To organize directly or indirectly through a member organization, projects that are deemed beneficial to the Goan community at large.
- c) To co-ordinate the flow of information to all its members.
- d) To co-ordinate emergency assistance as and when required.

TECHTRAIN PROJECTS

Description:

Techtrain '90 is a community oriented non-profit voluntary assistance program designed to assist GOAN professionals with residence in GOA (India), in engineering and social sciences disciplines, considered critical for on-going and future development programs/projects.

Eligibility:

Young and experienced professionals.

Fields of Interest:

Medicine, Architecture, Engineering, Project Management and Social Sciences.

Qualifications:

University Degree.

Type of Assistance:

Consultation – training – short courses.

Location:

Goa for on-site consultation, and/or counselling. Overseas for professional upgrade (practical work terms) and advanced job skills training.

Length of Term:

To be determined on case by case basis.

Conditions:

Accommodation for overseas assignment will likely be provided. Travel and other expenses will be shared between IGO and the candidate and/or Techtrain Cells.

Number of Positions Open:

For the first year: 2

Apply Before:

December 31

Project Due to Start:

End 1991

Contact:

IGO Secretariat – Toronto
Mrs Zulema de Souza
P.O. Box 1004, Station B
Mississauga, Ontario
L4Y 3W3

L. Gomes
130 Ledbury Street
North York, Ontario
M5H 4H9
(416) 785-3841

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

Mailing Address: Techtrain '90
c/o International Goan Organization
P.O. Box 1004, Station B
Mississauga, Ontario.
L4Y 3W3

Project Chairman: Lamberto Gomes,
130 Ledbury Street,
North York, Ontario.
(416) 785-3841 (Res.)
(416) 235-5011 (Bus.)

B. ORGANIZATION

Steering Committee:

Zulema de Souza (Sec. Gen. IGO Toronto)
Cliff Menezes (Member IGO Toronto)
Al Mathias (Member IGO Toronto)
Osmond Remedios (Member IGO Toronto)
Lamberto Gomes (Member IGO Toronto)
John Noronha (GOA rep. nominated)

Executive Committee:

Cliff Menezes
Joao DaSilva
Lamberto Gomes

Working Committee:

Canada Cell (Toronto) J. DaSilva/L. Gomes
Canada Cell (West) Joe Lewis
Canada Cell (East) Jose Frias Costa
USA Cell (Oakland Calif.) Maurice Gracias
UK Cell (London) Alvaro Collaco
W. European Cell (Lisbon) Jose Maria Costa
Brazil Cell
East Africa Cell (Kenya) Pascal Denis
Australia Cell (Sydney) Lasserre Gomes/A. Machado
Goa Cell (Panaji) R. Aguiar/V. Pissulencar

TECHTRAIN '90 COORDINATORS:

Representatives to be appointed by working committee chairpersons.

PROJECT: Techtrain '90

OBJECTIVE: Development of a technical assistance and training program hereinafter called TECHTRAIN '90 for Goan graduates and professionals.

SCOPE: TECHTRAIN '90 is a voluntary program designed to assist Goan professionals with residence in Goa (India) in engineering and social sciences disciplines considered critical for the on-going and future local development programmes and projects, both in public and private sectors. In the short term TECHTRAIN '90 intends to provide support and specialized assistance to local professionals already involved in projects where advance technology would be beneficial for future endeavours.

Details of any assistance and training requirements are to be worked out in co-operation with the local authorities,

academia and representatives of private and business organizations.

LOCATION: Goa (India) – for on-site assistance and training
Overseas – for short-term training and experience

PROJECT SUMMARY

Background Information: The first International Goan Convention held in Toronto in 1988, passed the following resolution pertaining to "Voluntary Projects":
"Mechanisms be developed for the provision, of TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE of projects in GOA and later for the establishment of voluntary capital projects"

Rationale: Vital to the economic development of the Indian sub-continent both at macro (national) and micro (state) levels are the planning and development policies for appropriate and advanced techno-social programs.
Goa's entry as a new seaport state within the mosaic of Indian politico-economical structure must be upheld within the context of national and state's future perspectives.
To achieve these goals, state governments must embark on programs that are highly beneficial to their local economy and social development. With this in mind, the International Goan Organization proposed the Voluntary Assistance and Training program as part of their contribution to the development of the state of GOA.

Organization: The overall responsibility of TECHTRAIN '90 project rests within the International Goan Organization – Toronto. The steering committee comprised of IGO executives will direct and oversee the progress of the project.
The executive committee, comprised of members and volunteer friends of IGO, will examine and analyze the assistance requests and in co-operation with the technical cells negotiate for the best course of action on case by case basis. The executive committee will prepare the action report and recommend it to the steering committee.
The working committee comprised of members of participating organizations will be responsible for the project activities within their respective area of influence.
The working committee will interact with the executive committee to discuss the assistance details and prepare a program outline. The chairman of the working committee will be responsible for the preparation of the expertise list for their respective area.
The project leader will report to the Steering Committee as required.

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

Two distinct cells as per diagram will gather and disseminate information to their respective areas of influence.

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- the Overseas Techtrain cell
 - the Goa Techtrain cell

The overseas Techtrain cell will be headquartered in Toronto, Canada. This cell will be responsible for coordinating all activities pertaining to the Techtrain project.

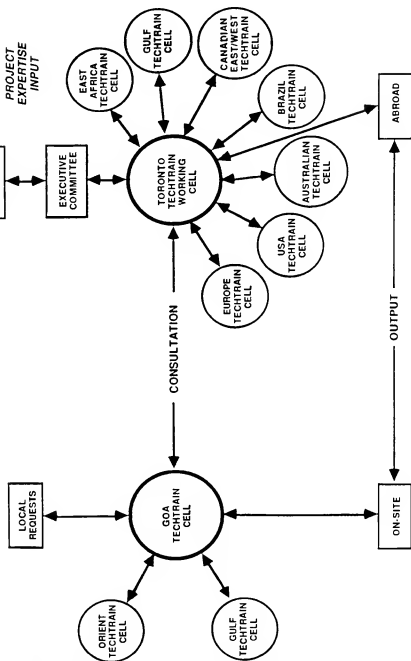
Participating Techtrain cells from other countries will input their recommendations, suggestions and findings to the Techtrain cell.

The Goa cell will be responsible for the local development programs and submission of a candidate list (short list) for the TECHTRAIN Project. The Goa Techtrain cell may be called upon to interface with the local government authorities, institutions, and other outlying cells wishing to submit candidates and/or recommend appropriate action. Goa Techtrain cell will consult and submit all requests to Toronto Techtrain cell.

Upon approval by the steering committee this executive committee will prepare a memorandum of agreement to be signed in triplicate by the selected candidate and the GOA cell on one side and by the overseas cell and the IGO Steering committee on the other side.

TECHTRAIN '90 PROJECT

ORIENT TECHTRAIN: INDIA (OUTSIDE GOA); PAKISTAN
GULF TECHTRAIN: GULF ARABIAN STATES



INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCE

TITLE: **GOA – Continuity and Change**
SPONSORS: **University of Toronto**
The International Goan Organization
CO-ORDINATORS: **Prof. N. Wagle, University of Toronto**
Prof. G. Coelho, University of Maryland
Prof. R. Da Costa, University of Ottawa
DATE: **March 14 – 17, 1991**

The general aim and approach is to bring home to the large Goan community a sense of the unique cultural experience of their participation in modern world history and in the symbiosis between East and West since the Age of the Great Explorations.

The specific objectives are to examine the emigration experiences enhancing the sense of Goan culture and identity; and its traditional and transformational aspects. The spirit of the Conference should create lively awareness of the creative diversity that characterizes Goan communities everywhere as they participate and integrate in the societies where they settle.

INTERNATIONAL GOAN YOUTH CONVENTION

Convenor: Adv. Herculano Dourado

The Convention will be held from December 17th – 27th, 1990 at the Kala Academy Complex, Panjim, Goa. The ten days of the Convention will pick up the threads from the Toronto Convention and help Goans to come together and formulate plans to keep the World Goan Family "In Touch", through Exchange Programs, Investment Opportunities, Cultural Exchanges, et al.

REVIEWS / COMMENTS / PRESS CUTTINGS

In the G.O.A. Perth Newsletter Adolf de Souza says:

"There is no doubt that the Convention was a high profile event involving politicians, religious leaders, civic leaders and important people in the community. The events were wellpublicised and very professionally conducted at all levels from the presentation of papers to protocol and media relations. Goans everywhere can feel truly proud of their involvement."

Dr. Olivinho Gomes in Goa Today:

"Amidst the traditional ceremonial pomp of Catholic liturgy, enhanced by the splendid guard of honour provided by the colourfully garbed Knights of the Columbus team headed by Patrick Rodrigues and a Goan contingent of the Metropolitan Toronto Police, led by Staff Inspector Paul Fernandes, the Goan Cardinal Joseph Cordeiro, Archbishop of Karachi, Pakistan, assisted by Toronto Auxilliary Bishop Robert Clune, concelebrated the High Mass along with twelve Goan priests, at the Cathedral."

Dr. Olivinho Gomes in The Navhind Times:

"It was an unprecedented concourse of enthusiastic participants including persons of eminence in various fields of human endeavour, who contributed their talent to the deliberations of the Convention. The goals of the Convention could be said to have been attained in the matter of bringing together Goans, to strengthen the sense of community among them, to develop their capacity to meet the social, economic, cultural and political challenges that lie ahead, to foster better understanding between Goans and the community at large."

O Heraldo :

"But it is not only the Konkani speaking population in various parts of the country that have woken up to the need for unity. What is even more heartening is that Goans who have settled in various parts of the world have also discovered the need for coming together. In Canada the Goans have decided to convene an international conference of overseas Goans which interestingly will include a visit to Niagara Falls. The decision of the overseas Goans to convene an international conference comes as a very pleasant surprise."

Resolution proposed by Neves Menezes, seconded by Terrence Pereira and unanimously approved at a G.O.A. (Toronto) General Body Meeting:

"That this General Body recognize with deep gratitude the efforts of the President, the Executive Committee, the Convention Steering Committee, the Co-ordinators and all the helpers for making a tremendous success of the International Goan Convention held in Toronto from August 7 - 21, 1988."

Nereus Rodrigues – Quebec Goan Association Newsletter:

" . . . as the ongoing activities unfolded each day, I marvelled at the courageous move initiated by G.O.A. Toronto to hold such a mighty meeting of Goan minds from around the globe. It was indeed some experience."

Edmonton 'Khobor':

"Thank you Zulema and your steering committee, and the various co-ordinators and volunteers for finally substantiating the Goan pride in all of us who were fortunate to be present in Toronto during those unforgettably hot and furious two weeks of Goan culture."

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